RELIGIO MEDICI

SIR THOMAS BROWNE

KARNATAK PUBLISHING HOUSE
BOMBAY 2

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By

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With Introduction
and
Explanatory Notes

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"Now for my life, it is a miracle of thirty years, which to relate were not a history but a piece of poetry, and would sound to common ears like a fable ; for the world, I count it not an inn but an hospital ; and a place not to live, but to die in. The world that I regard is myself ; it is the microcosm of my own frame that I cast mine eye on, for the other, I use it but like my globe, and turn it round sometimes for my recreation. Men that look upon my outside, perusing only my condition and fortunes, do err in my altitude, for I am above Atlas's shoulders. The earth is a point, not only in respect of the heavens above us, but of that heavenly and celestial part within us ; that mass of flesh that circumscribes me limits not my mind ; that surface that tells the heaven it hath an end cannot persuade me I have any. . . . . Whilst I study to find how I am a microcosm, or little world, I find myself something more than the great. There is surely a piece of divinity in us, something that was before the elements, and owes no homage unto the sun. Nature tells me I am the image of God, as well as Scripture. . . . . . ."

Browne : *Religio Medici*,
Part II, Sect. XI, pp. 126-127.

PREFACE

The very popularity of this book throughout the seventeenth and following centuries has been productive of many editions. Suffice it to say here that in the present Edition, the text, as accepted by Simon Wilkin, has on the whole been followed. On its face it appears more modernised than that of Dr. Greenhill, who goes back to the *last* Edition published in Browne's life-time. But it appears to us that to reproduce the quaint spelling (e.g. *perswade* for *persuade* in the second line of Section I, Part I of *Religio Medici*) and the 17th century punctuation, and the bewildering forest of Capital letters as Dr. Greenhill's edition presents to us, would not be in the best interest of the student, and of the Indian student in particular. Wilkin's modernisation is no greater than what by most editors is applied to the text of Shakespeare's First Folio Edition.

Browne composed the book about 1635 when he was living at Shipden Hall, near Halifax, and in 1642 two unauthorised editions appeared one after another, due to an adventurous London Publisher named Andrew Crooke. These pirated editions were anonymous and without any preface, but there was a fantastic frontispiece representing a man hurled from a rock and held in mid-air by a hand from heaven. This frontispiece later on

adorned many subsequent editions of the book. In this form the book came to the notice of Sir Kenelm Digby, who within twenty-four hours (part of which was spent in procuring the book) wrote his "Observations" which were hastily sent to the press. This led to the author's own authorised edition of 1642, but some correspondence went on meanwhile between Browne and Digby; and this correspondence is usually published in most editions of *Religio Medici*, and it has been considered advisable to incorporate it in this edition. (Vide pp. 1 to 5).

The book was soon translated into Latin and later on into Dutch, French and German. After the first authorised version, the book seems to have been reprinted during the Author's life at least eight times. Most of these editions appeared with the legend "Corrected and amended" but in most cases the "corrections" or "emendations" appear to have been formal. The last edition during Browne's life was that of 1682, which Dr. Greenhill follows.

Since Browne's death, many standard editions have appeared. Among those that call for special notice are the nineteenth century editions of (1) Thomas Chapman, 1831, with a selection of annotations by a Mr. Keck, which had adorned some of the 17th and 18th century editions; (2) the Rev. Alexander Young, 1831, which also included *Hydriotaphia* and *Vulgar Errors*, with Notes chiefly taken from Keck's annotations, (3) Simon Wilkin, 1835, one of the *best editions* for the student of

Browne's works, which he edited in four volumes; (4) John Peace, 1844, along with the *Christian Morals* and giving a marginal summary, which is adopted and amplified in the present edition; (5) the Rev. Henry Gardiner, 1645; (6) Dr. W. Greenhill, M.D., 1881, which has been often reprinted and which returns to the older spelling of the edition of 1682; and (7) finally the twentieth century edition of Mr. Charles Sayles, who published the *complete* works of Sir Thomas Browne, 1904-07, in three volumes. In most of these editions, Keck's annotations are to be found, and in most of them the treatise on *Christian Morals* is found appended, and in some of them Digby's *Observations*, above referred to. Of these the editions of Simon Wilkin (1835), Dr. Greenhill (1881), and Charles Sayles (1904-07) are indispensable for an exhaustive study of the text and for the notes and the introductory matter. Mr. Charles Sayles, like Dr. Greenhill, adopts the spelling of the 17th century edition while that adopted by Wilkin is a bit modernised and generally adopted in the present edition, as in most editions for the ordinary student.

INTRODUCTION

I. *Sir Thomas Browne* : (1) The Man and His Works.

Sir Thomas Browne, the famous physician of Norwich, was born in London on the 19th of October 1605, being the son of a mercer in the parish of St. Michael's Cheap. His father had borne the name, which his son was destined to make illustrious. His mother Anne, daughter of Paul Garraway, came from Lewes in Sussex. He was educated at Winchester and at Pembroke Hall, Oxford, after which he travelled to the Continent, visiting France, Italy and Holland, where he studied at Montpellier, Padua and Leyden. At Montpellier the faculty of Medicine instilled in him the doctrine that the life distributed in the human body was due to an *organic Soul*, the "vital principle" of which animated the tissues and gave warmth and movement to the body. This doctrine was soon to be overthrown by the philosophy of Descartes. But Browne continued to be impressed by this theory of "Vitalism" which he had imbibed in his Montpellier days. After some time spent at the famous university of Padua in Italy and the University of Leyden, then most famous in Europe for its medical

lore, he returned to England in 1633, with the degree of Doctor of Medicine, conferred upon him by Leyden University. He first resided at Shipden Hall at Halifax in Yorkshire, where he wrote his *Religio Medici*. In 1637 his Norfolk friends pressed him to come over to Norwich and there practise as a physician. So he came down and settled there and lived to be one of the most respected citizens of the place. At Norwich, he married in 1641 Dorothy, daughter of Edward Mileham of Burlingham, St. Peter. He was then thirty-six years of age and the bride was twenty. It was a happy marriage. She bore him ten children, six of whom died before their parents. Except for such bereavements, he led a very happy life, full of zeal in his profession and religious piety, and he was highly honoured both for his character and his medical and scientific attainments.

In view of Browne's affirmation of his belief in witch-craft and sorcery and in astrology and palmistry, for instance, in Section XXX of Part I of his *Religio Medici* and in sections following, it is of interest to record that in a trial of a case of witch-craft in 1664 before the Chief Justice, Sir Matthew Hale, who was sorely perplexed and considered the prosecution evidence rotten, Sir Thomas Browne was cited as an expert witness and the solemn testimony of his belief in sorcery led to the execution by hanging of two poor women, Amy Duny and Rose Cullender, whom the jury convicted as witches. In earlier days such persons used to be burnt at the stake. This was probably the last

witches' trial held in England, certainly the last in which a witch was hanged!

In 1671, on a visit of King Charles II to Norwich, Browne had the honour to receive his Knighthood. He had always been a Royalist and a staunch follower of the Anglican Church and in fact he was a sort of mystic, with a tolerant outlook towards other Christian creeds. He used his leisure for study and scientific enquiry, and was not disturbed by the political and religious storms of the Civil War and the Commonwealth period. He died in 1682, in the seventy-seventh year of his age; and he met his end in the spirit of gentle resignation which he displays in his works.

(2) Works :—

Religio Medici was written about 1635. The interesting history of its publication is dealt with elsewhere (vide Preface). Suffice it to say here that after two unauthorised editions of it in 1642, the author saw through the press the first authorised edition in 1643. The book became at once popular not only in England, but also on the Continent, and it was promptly translated into Latin, 1644, and soon afterwards into Dutch, French and German, in the author's lifetime. The book expounded a tolerant view of Christianity, mystic and poetic, from the point of view of a student of science and medicine, and a lover of harmony in life and nature.

In 1645, Browne published his *Pseudodoxia Epidemica*, or *Enquiries into Vulgar Errors*. It was

the longest, and for long the most popular of Browne's works. But its interest to-day is chiefly for the curious antiquarian. As one of Browne's admirers, John Addington Symonds, remarks it is not a book to be *read through to-day.* We may turn over its pages for recreation. But we are not interested to-day in the study of the old lore about griffins and mandrakes, mistletoe and laurel, the phoenix and the salamander. The book deals, as J. A. Symonds observes, with "the obsolete curiosities of an antiquated cabinet." Modern science has unhappily knocked on the head many of Browne's naive speculations. The style is as charming as ever, but the flights of fancy and gorgeous eloquence that distinguish *Religio Medici* have grown more rare. As regards the naiveness of some of the errors Browne discusses, we may mention, for instance, that "Crystal is nothing else but ice strongly congealed" (Book II, Chapter I) "that an elephant has no joints" (Book III, Chapter I) ; that the Basilisk (A kind of serpent) kills from a distance (Book III, Chapter VII) ; that the diamond, the hardest of substances, is made soft or broken by the blood of a goat (Book II, Chapter V) etc. etc.

The short book entitled "*Hydriotaphia,*" *Urne-buriall, or a Discourse of the Sepulchrall Urns lately found in Norfolk* was inspired by meditations on a certain archæological discovery made in Browne's neighbourhood. Some fifty burial urns had been discovered in a field and they contained human bones. This led up to a train of meditations

on death and on oblivion after man's life on earth and an array of vast erudition as regards the various ancient modes of burial. The book is filled with "the most delightful gems of prose-poetry." The fifth chapter is justly famed for its masterly eloquence.

The Garden of Cyrus or *Treatise on the Quincunx* is an essay in curious learning. Browne finds a mystic significance in things arranging themselves in the quincunx or multiples of the number five. He finds the quincunx everywhere, in sky and on earth, in the human mind, in notes of music, in trees and leaves. This book and the *Hydriotaphia* were published together in 1658. Browne tells us here a lot about Cyrus and the Persian and Babylonian gardens (The "Pensile" or hanging gardens of Semiramis), but most of it, as Mr. Edmund Gosse remarks in his life of Sir Thomas Browne, is without real historical foundation.

A treatise on *Christian Morals*, in a simpler and more modern style was published posthumously and in most modern editions it is found appended to *Religio Medici*, as bearing on the same subject.

II. *Sir Thomas Browne*: (3) His Style and Diction.

Hooker, Milton, Jeremy Taylor and Sir Thomas Browne all write English prose in a style which is highly latinized. In the former three, it is the syntax which is involved and moulded on a Latin pattern, and gives cumbrousness and intricate length

to the sentence. In Sir Thomas Browne, the syntax is less cumbrous, though it cannot be said that he is free from the Latin construction altogether.

A few illustrations of his Latin Constructions may be given here. In his address *To the Reader*, Browne begins the second paragraph with the sentence: "This I confess, about seven years past, with some others of affinity thereto, for my private exercise and satisfaction I had at leisurable hours composed." Here we may notice the inverted order of words in the sentence. "This" is the *object* and "composed" is the *predicate*. Yet "this" is the first word and "composed" the last word in the sentence. All modifying adjuncts precede the verb "composed," when we might have normally expected them to follow the verb. Instead of writing "I at my leisure hours had composed," a modern author would naturally say, "I had composed this at my leisure hours." But in Browne this inverted order of words is more common; and the example cited above is a very good illustration of the *Periodic* sentence-structure favoured by Latin syntax. In this structure, the principal verb or predicate marches at the rear of the whole sentence, like the commander-in-chief of an army, marshalling all dependent adjuncts before it!

To take another instance—and there are several such—from *Religio Medici* Part I, Sect. XLV, Browne writes "Now what force should be able to consume it thus far, without the breath of God, which is the truest consuming flame, my philosophy cannot inform me." It would be more direct and

natural to write "My philosophy cannot tell me what force should be able to consume it thus far, without the breath of God, which is the truest consuming flame." Or consider the last sentence of Sect. I, Part II, of *Religio Medici,* as we find it in the edition of 1682 though in the present edition, the first two lines have been, following the lead of Mr. Sayle and other editors, tacked on with the preceding sentence. As Wilkin and others print it, this last sentence of Section I, Part II, stretches its lingering length to nearly eight to ten lines. It runs thus: "Though the corruption of these times, and the bias of present practice, wheel another way, thus it was in the primitive commonwealth, and yet in the integrity and cradle of well-ordered politics, till corruption getting ground, ruder desires labouring after that which wiser considerations contemn; every one having a liberty to amass and heap up riches, and they a license or faculty to do or purchase anything."

This sentence could have with advantage been brought to a full point after the words "Corruption getteth ground." But no! Browne must tack on a number of absolute clauses, (what is called Nominative Absolute in English Grammar, imitated from the frequent Ablative Absolute constructions in Latin), viz: ruder desires labouring after that which wiser considerations contemn, every one having a liberty to amass and heap up riches, and they a license or faculty to do or purchase anything". Here we have the imitation at length of the Ablative Absolute construction of Latin Gram-

mar. The sentence would gain in beauty and power, if Browne had concluded the latter part somewhat as follows: "For ruder desires labour after that which wiser consideration contemn; and every one has a liberty to amass and heap up riches, which themselves have a license to do or purchase anything".

In Browne we find quick and abrupt transitions of thought, and a terseness and clearness which are hard to seek in Hooker or Milton. But Browne's vocabulary is, if anything, even more Latinized than that of any other great prose master of the seventeenth century. To give greater point to an English word or expression, he would paraphrase it into a Latin derivative. Thus not satisfied with the English word "Hanging" he calls it "illaqueation or pendulous suffocation". Further he uses Latin words or coins them, not only in their accepted senses, but more often to convey special shades of meaning, by quibbling on the etymology or antique usage. And so it is rightly said, as he himself once observed, that the reader will have to learn Latin to understand his English.*

To Dr. Johnson, Browne's Latinisms appeared pedantic: to many modern readers, as Leslie Stephen observes, they have an old-world charm. His writing is addressed not to ordinary people, but to those cultured and learned. He writes for the

* A survey of Browne's Latinisms and his diction generally is attempted elsewhere. See Sect. V of the Introduction.

chosen few. With this proviso, we have to admit that he is rightly praised for his success in maintaining a high level of a literary style, full of that music which the best prose is capable of. He expresses himself in rhythmical periods and rises again and again to great heights of eloquence and imagery. His search for Latin equivalents of English words is often inspired by his love of musical cadences. He had a passion for harmony and this love of music led him to express an exaggerated appreciation even of the music of the tavern. This music fascinates the reader of his prose. He is an artist rather than a thinker, and like a great artist he manages to give a sort of personal or autobiographical complexion to his expression of truth. In his own day, when the unauthorised edition of the *Religio Medici* first appeared, his first critic, Sir Kenelm Digby criticised it for the persistence with which Browne discussed the case for religion from a personal point of view, or in other words, for the author's habit of obtruding his own views and fancies on the reader. As a matter of fact, it is just for this quality, that Browne became such a favourite with men like Lamb, Coleridge, and De Quincey. His writings appear so much like confessions that he constantly recalls Montaigne, while the greatness of his views foreshadows Pascal. Browne comments on his own courage, charity and sympathy for others, his freedom from pride, and his readiness in all things to place what he considered revealed Religion above the dictates of reason and philosophy. (Vide Part II, *Religio Medici* throughout). There is evidence

of a certain eccentricity of views and sympathies in Browne that places him alongside of Burton, the author of the *Anatomy of Melancholy,* a work which seems to have impressed him very much. In all his reasoning he adduces arguments from the Greek and Latin classics and mythology, or from classical history, or philosophy or from natural history, both real and feigned, but in all cases the final arbitration rests with an appeal to the Bible and the Christian and rabbinical literature associated with it. The reader of Browne must for a full appreciation of the author equip himself with a fair knowledge of classical history and mythology as well as the Bible.

A great deal of the charm of Browne's writings lies not merely in the quaintness of his periods, or his wealth of imagery and classical allusion, but also in the element of surprise that we must associate with his conclusions or particular statements. Or to be more precise perhaps the secret of his charm lies in a blend of all these qualities. As Dr. Johnson remarked, "the novelty of paradoxes, the dignity of sentiment, the quick succession of images, the multitude of abstruse allusions, the subtlety of disquisitions and the strength of language may be enumerated among the causes that attracted the attention of the public to the appearance of the *Religio Medici.*"

In one respect, Browne resembles Bacon. Both took Religion as a matter to be taken on faith. Though a sceptic in other things, Bacon was a firm believer in Revealed Religion. To him Religion was

not a subject for criticism and analysis. Similarly Browne stands on Faith and for Faith ; and in all his meditations he seeks the support of Religion founded on faith ; and his is the faith of a mystic fortified by philosophy.

The presence of a mystical element, as Leslie Stephen says, is the mark of all lofty imaginations. In Browne, this mysticism is blended with a sense of humour. The sense of humour is a faculty that restrains the possessor from going to extremes, keeps the writer in mind of the risk of absurdity, of impropriety, of the incongruity that arises from over-statement or false emphasis. It is an intellectual gift almost associated with a certain scepticism and a certain critical spirit that keeps awake in sarcasm and irony. But Browne's humour is gentle, of the unaggressive kind. He plays with theories and dogmas, without adopting them exclusively, and at the same time no dogma or speculation is too wild to repel him. A close study of Part I, Secs. XXI and XXII, will repay the reader with good illustrations of Browne's wit and humour.

Critics, from Hallam downwards, are unanimous in extolling the concluding chapter of the *Hydriotaphia* as showing the charm of Browne's style at its best. Here he gives his reflections on the instinct in the human breast to ensure posthumous fame, the desire to live in men's mouths after we have left this earthly scene, the desire that gives rise to urns and pyramids, memorials and mausoleums like the Taj Mahal in India. It is a vanity out of date and a superannuated piece of folly ; for

the pyramids last no longer than "Pillars of Snow" and all the past in the light of eternity is but as one moment. Reflections like these on a smaller scale are, however, scattered throughout *Religio Medici*. The Section that deals with the description of Harmony in the Universe (Part II, Sect. IX) and travels from it to the author's love of music, and from that to the love of mankind is a grand proof of how Browne's mind moves with lightning speed from trivial personal topics to great, universal truths and *vice versa*.

III. *Religio Medici*—The Argument.

A marginal summary based on John Peace's Edition of 1844, but considerably modified and extended, has been attached to the text, section by section, but the argument of the book may be here reviewed as a whole.

Part I. The author professes to be a physician but a man of religion also and though professing great tolerance for other sects of the Christian religion and even for other religions, he professes to have strong faith in the Church of England. The Pope may call him a Heretic, but he would not call him Anti-Christ. Browne would avoid disputes in religion. It is better to enjoy truth in peace than expose it to a contest. The author would avoid fantastic extremes in matters of faith, and he gives three instances of extreme errors—(Section VII) which he had himself eventually got over. These are (1) that the soul might in some sort perish with the body and rise again with it; (2) that all

men should finally be saved, which was the opinion of Origen; and that (3) we might pray for the Dead, as is the Catholic practice. He did not suffer these errors to grow into heresies. But we must have patience with these errors, as Christ himself had said that heresies would arise. As regards miracles and mysteries in religion, we must take them on faith. Faith is the armour of the true Christian (Sect. X). Among the postulates of Faith is first the Eternity of God and secondly the Wisdom of God. (Sect. XII). There is no danger in fortifying Faith by contemplating and tracing the hand of God in his works. (This is the theological argument from Creation—a diversified creation presupposing a wise Creator). Again in all things, there is one first cause, (viz. the Final Cause) and four secondary causes (viz. the formal cause, the material cause, the efficient cause and the instrumental cause). But the final cause of Creation—the purpose *why* it was created—rests in God's Providence. Nature never does anything in vain. There is a purpose in every thing and that purpose is God's Will. (This is the teleological Argument in Theology) (*Section XV*).

Nature is thus an open book that points out to God, as much as the Bible itself does. Nature itself is a Bible open to all. Providence has often been falsely called Fortune. But the word fortune is used in a relative sense and we often speak of the blindness of fortune, but it is we who are blind, not Fortune, and in any case God's Providence does not err and is not blind. Nor need we condemn

astrology, for if there be truth in it, it does not injure God's Providence (Section XVIII). Passion and mis-directed reason have led men to atheism. But passion and reason must be subordinated to Faith. Atheism can hardly exist. Even the doctrine of Epicurus did not mean Atheism but a magnificent conception of the Deity. Nor does the denial of the Holy Ghost, or even of Christ himself (though it will be a *heresy*) mean *Atheism* in itself (Sect. XX). There is no consistency in Unbelief and there is consistency in Belief though there are mysteries in religion: about these mysteries questions may be raised but they are not worth solution. They are intellectual curiosities fit only for Pantagruel's Library. Other questions there are which are often raised, and which may be easily solved, e.g. how America abounded in beasts of prey and yet was without the horse! There are other questions again which may be freely discussed, such as whether Methuselah (vide Genesis V, 27) was the longest lived of all men; and finally there are other questions which it is useless even to attempt to solve, e.g. whether there are tutelary angels in reality and whether the interpretation of the Catholic Church on *Acts XII*, 15, inferring the existence of such angels, is correct (Sect. XXII).

The Bible is the best of books. No Library can be complete without it. It was not for nothing that the Law of Moses continued two thousand years unaltered. Other laws have changed, even those that pretended to a divine origin. To "the making of many books" as the Bible says "there is no end".

Browne would like all literature reduced to a few solid authors, and he would like this to be decided at a general synod of scholars! (Sect. XXIV.) Browne is astonished at the obstinacy of the Jews, who would confine their belief to the five books of Moses. He is also surprised that the Jews who in their past history were often-times seduced to idolatry should, with such obstinacy, adhere to the Mosaic doctrine and persist without the least hope of conversion to Christianity While this obstinacy is a vice in the Jew, the opposite of it is the vice of the Christian, who lacks in constancy to his faith, and transfers his allegiance to the contrary faith of the Jew and the Mahomedan, though the latter two religions are distinctly against Christianity, and there is little hope of converting them to Christianity. At the same time persecution is a bad way to propagate religion, though the Christian faith can boast of martyrs more than any religion. Not all are martyrs who suffer in the name of religion. John Huss was condemned as a *heretic*, his own party called him a *martyr*, and if we refused to call him by either name, we would displease both parties. Many who are canonized as Saints on earth will never be recognised as such in heaven. Many of the so-called martyrs were less perfect as martyrs than the wise Socrates, who was persecuted and suffered for his belief in the Unity of God (Sect. XXVI). Browne can neither prove that miracles have ceased, nor can he absolutely deny them. That miracles survived Christ can be proved from Scripture. The Jesuits boast of fresh

miracles in the Indies, but Browne wishes there was better authority than their word. However all miracles are equally easy to God. God can do all things. God's power is co-equal with His will. But all stories about miracles cannot be received with the same confidence. Browne cannot believe, for instance, why the Cross which Helena found and upon which Christ died should have the power to restore others to life. One of the greatest miracles is the fact that the ancient *Oracles* have ceased, but to rationalise them as Plutarch does is ridiculous. The Jews believe in the stopping of the Sun in the days of Joshua, but will not believe in the Eclipse at the death of Christ. (Sect. XXIX). It is a riddle to Browne how people can entertain doubt about the existence of spirits and of witches. Browne knows and believes that there are witches and spirits with whom witches deal. But philosophy must not be confounded with sorcery, witch-craft or magic. All knowledge does not come from the devil. We do owe the discovery of many secrets to the suggestion of Angels. The spirit of God is diffused throughout the Universe, as Plato thought, and as the Alchemists believe. Nobody who does not feel the warm influence of this spirit can be said to be truly alive. Browne will not therefore deny the existence of guardian spirits or attendant Angels. It is not a new opinion of the Church of Rome but it is as old as Pythagoras and Plato. Though before his fall, Man was immortal, still we must believe he had a different essence from that of the Angels. Angels have a swiftness of action

and intuitive knowledge that men would never have (Sect. XXXIII).

Man is a microcosm and we partake of the nature of all created essences. Man is an "Amphibium", a being with double life, a creature that partakes both of the corporeal and the spiritual essence. The Scripture tells us that we are the breath of God, but it is not mere rhetoric that tells us that man is a microcosm. The truth appears on reflection. As for the immaterial world, the first impulse comes from the Primum Mobile of the traditional astronomy. The spirits move freely even in matter. God made the world for man, but he did not make the Angels for man, but for His own glory. Still man is the masterpiece of Creation and the whole of creation is a mystery. God first made the other creatures and when he came to make man, He first made the walls of flesh and then created the immortal soul, a substance like Himself. Even the Greek philosophy concurs in the two-fold basis of Man: (1) the corrupt material part and (2) the incorrupt, immortal soul. Though the Soul is inorganic, it can do its functions only through a symmetry of organs. The walls of the flesh in which the Soul is immured are perishable. All flesh is grass. Further in a sense we are *anthropophagi* or cannibals, devouring not only men, but ourselves. For the flesh of which our body consists has come into us through our mouths! Well in any case, the body perishes, but the Souls of men know no corruption. (Sect. XXXVII).

That being so, death has no terrors for a

Christian. Browne thanks God he is not bound down to this world. Were there not another life he hoped for, all the vanities of this world should not entreat a moment's breath from him. Man has three separate existences, (1) one in the womb, (2) the second in this world, and (3) the third, in the next. Death is not a matter to be afraid of, but only to be ashamed of, because of the change death will make upon our bodies,—for death disfigures us so much that even our wives and children start at our appearance. Fame after death is not to be wished for. It is a vain glory. The Universe itself is a tomb to him who lies unburied. Length of days is not to be prayed for : age but increases our vices. If we could live over our past life once again, we would probably live it worse than before! But a special Providence preserves our life. There is some other hand that twines the thread of life than that of Nature (Sect. XLIII). Lucan has verses which tell us that the gods conceal from men the happiness of Death. But though Death is under certain circumstances to be desired, and though the Stoics approve of suicide, still the latter is unlawful. Suicide implies not the fear of death but the fear of life. It is for the valiant man to condemn death, but where life is more terrible than death, it is the truest valour to dare to live. The fortitude of Job is greater than that of Curtius, Scævola and Codrus. The man of fortitude would not wish to die, but would mind not if he were dead, as happily expressed by Cicero in the *Tusculan Disputations*, I. 8 (Sect. XLIV).

Death is the gate through which we pass to immortality. The Christian has no fear of the common proverb, *memento mori,* remember you are to die. The Christian is asked to remember the four ultimate points of Death, Judgment, Heaven and Hell. Lucan and the Stoics wrote that the World would be at last destroyed by fire. The world grows near its end, but it is neither old nor decayed. And Browne cannot conceive of any force which can destroy the world except the word of God. As it required not a minute to create the world, it may not require a minute to destroy it. It is manifest impiety to speculate on the day and year of the end of the world. The predictions of astrologers in ages past have been mocked, and the prophecies of many pessimists in the present. The general opinion that the world grows near its end has possessed all ages past as nearly as ours. But that day is the Day of Judgment, when God's justice shall be vindicated. This one day shall include and comprehend all that went before. It is the memory of this day which has power to keep us honest and virtuous, the day when virtue will really get her reward. Without this, all religion is a fallacy, and without it, atheism only shall stand vindicated. The question how the dead shall arise does not overtax Browne's faith. Many things are true in Divinity which cannot be reduced to Reason or demonstrated, just as no reason can explain why the magnetic needle should turn to the North. Browne believes that our estranged and divided ashes shall rise again. As at the Creation of the

world, all the distinct species that we behold lay involved in one mass, till God's voice separated them into species, similarly on *the last day* God shall by his powerful voice command back the corrupted and scattered relics into their proper shapes and call them out as single individuals. In the resurrection of mercury, in Alchemy, we have a type of the Resurrection that will then take place, and again we have it in the magic of the artist who can give by the touch of art a new life to plants or vegetables that are consumed to ashes. Heaven and Hell cannot be denied. Nor can Browne say that Fire is the essence of Hell, nor can we express any view about Purgatory. We can have a better idea of Hell, when we remember that the heart of man is his own torment. Though we place Hell under Earth, the Devil prowls around it, nor is it proper to identify its location with the volcanoes. Every Devil is a Hell in himself. A distracted Conscience is a shadow or image of Hell hereafter. The Devil, were it in his power, would like to destroy himself. Browne was never afraid of Hell. Our misfortunes on Earth are to be regarded as proofs of God's affection. Our offences are mortal and deserve higher punishment, not only Death but Damnation. It is the goodness of God, if He is content to punish us only with a misfortune or disease. Therefore to adore, honour and admire Him is a debt of gratitude due to Him, from human nature. But there is no salvation to those that believe not in Christ. It's a grim truth, though it is hard to put those souls in Hell whose lives on

Earth teach us virtue; but among the many subdivisions of Hell there may be a Limbo reserved for them. It is an insolent part of reason to controvert the works of God or the justice of his actions. Men that live according to the right rule and law of reason live but in human kind, as beasts live in theirs, and they cannot therefore reasonably demand a special reward for their actions, which merely follow the dictates of reason. But Salvation can come through Christ alone. Without Christ, the most perfect actions on earth have no title or claim to Heaven. (Sect. LIV).

Our practice is inconsistent with our theory. Our conduct seldom conforms to our ethical principles. Aristotle transgressed the rule of his own ethics. The Stoics condemned passion but could not endure a fit of colic. The sceptics affirmed that man can know nothing and themselves acted as if they alone knew more than all the world beside. Diogenes, the Cynic, in rejecting all honour from Alexander the Great was more vainglorious than Alexander himself. Vice invents specious reasons in support of its conduct. A perfect Virtue—and the same is the case with Religion—requires a perfect panoply, or complete armour for defence against Vice.

But the Church of God is not circumscribed. It is not restricted to Europe. We cannot deny its benefit to Asia and Africa. In reality many of the Councils of the Church took place in Asia and Africa, when Europe was in its infancy. Nor can a few differences in religious rites, more magnified

in the eye of man than in the judgment of God, excommunicate one another from Heaven. A sectarian spirit is hostile to charity. The Church of Rome condemned the Anglican Church and *vice versa.* The familist of the 16th century who believed in a religion of Love as opposed to Faith actually hated other sects! Thus while the mercy of God promises us Heaven, we in our false opinions exclude one another from that place!

Actually Browne believes that many will win salvation who seem to be damned, and many will be damned who in men's opinion and judgment seem saintly. On the last day, there will be seen many strange examples of God's Justice and of His Mercy. To define that Justice and Mercy is mere folly in man. Those who by rigid application of the Law condemn Solomon, condemn not only him but themselves and the whole world. (Sect. LVII). We can repose our confidence only in God's mercy. Nobody can affirm his own salvation on oath. There is wisdom in St. Paul's precept that we should work out our salvation with fear and trembling. But can we work it out without God's mercy? Christ said "Before Abraham *was,* I *am*" and that in a certain sense can be said of every one. For not only does each man exist before he is born, but he exists even before Adam *in the Idea of God.* In the idea of God, each one exists before his birth and the World thus has existed in a mystic sense before its creation, and it was at an end before it had a beginning; and thus, says Browne "I was dead before I was alive: though my grave be England,

my dying place was Paradise"! Similarly God's mercy is everlasting and has priority before the foundations of the world. (Sect. LIX). It is the last assurance of man's salvation, far more definite than Faith or Good Works. True Faith is certainly not merely a token but a means of our salvation, but where to locate Faith and to define its boundaries is a great difficulty (Sect. LX).

Part II. Without the virtue of Charity; Faith is a mere concept and has no existence. Browne professes he has always endeavoured to cultivate a merciful disposition and a humane outlook, which he borrowed from his parents and regulated by prescribed rules of conduct. By his very nature and constitution, Browne sympathized with all things. He had no idiosyncracies in diet and could sympathise with the French who eat frogs and snails! He did not start at the appearance of a scorpion or a serpent, or a toad or a viper. He wouldn't take a stone and destroy them. If there is anything he scorns or laughs at, it is the Mob, so opposed to reason, virtue and religion. Charity must spring from a proper motive. Charity that merely springs from our nature and is regulated merely by reason makes for good morality, but not for religion. The latter requires Charity to have other motives, such as to fulfil the will of God. Far worse is Charity that starts on the consideration that one day we may ourselves stand in need of other peoples' charity towards us! Some men show their charitable nature in their outward forms, and experienced beggars are often able to pitch upon

a charitable person from his very looks. The finger of God has marked our character upon our physiognomy, and not only in the case of men, but even in that of plants and vegetables. These characters are not only marked in our faces, but they are also marked in our hands, and the Science of Palmistry or Chiromancy has thus arisen. Aristotle made no mention of the latter, but the Egyptians had knowledge of it. It is a real wonder that among so many millions of human faces, not two should be exactly alike. Such a variety of outward forms exists in all nature. (Sect. II).

Charity does not consist merely in alms. The souls of our fellow creatures are as much the object of our charity as their bodies. Very important is the duty of imparting knowledge. To be reserved in this part of goodness is worse than avarice in the case of money. Browne would not make his head a grave of knowledge, but a treasure. He intends no monopoly in learning, but a common sharing for all. He envied no man that knew more than himself, but he would pity them that knew less. He would not instruct a man just to exercise his own knowledge, but only for the purpose of propagating it, his only sorrow being that his knowledge would perish with himself and could not be transmitted by way of a legacy. He would not quarrel with a man on account of an error, nor could he understand why a difference of opinion should alienate or divide affection. In all disputes, the more passion there is, the more irrelevancy there is in it, and in such a case controversy will never be ended.

And yet, not only in religion but even in inferior matters, there never is dispute but with great heat of passion. Scholars are men of peace and bear no arms, but their tongues are sharper than razors. (Sect. III).

Then there is a national (rather international) want of charity. One nation heaps opprobrious epithets upon another e.g. that the Englishman is obstinate, the Scotsman a bully, the Italian unclean, the Frenchman a fool etc. In this case by one word we assassinate the honour of an entire nation. They that endeavour to abolish vice, destroy virtue also; for though contraries destroy one another, they are yet the life of one another. No man can justly censure another, because no man truly knows another. Further no man can judge another, because no man truly knows himself, and we censure others in proportion to the imaginary difference between them and the qualities we consider laudable in ourselves, and we recommend them in proportion as they equal and agree with our own supposed good qualities. This is nothing but self-love. This is not charity. True charity grows cold. The old proverb says *Charity begins at home*, yet every man is himself his greatest enemy. *Thou shalt not kill* is the commandment of God, but Adam brought in his own death. (Sect. IV).

Nobody feared his own miseries less than Browne did, and nobody feared the miseries of others more than Browne. It is a barbarous inhumanity to add to the misery of any afflicted person. Thus did Job suffer and the indirect rebukes of his friends

were a deeper injury to him than the direct misfortunes Satan sent upon him. Sympathy is an act of charity. It divides a sorrow or affliction almost out of itself. Browne would desire not merely to share a friend's sorrow but to engross them, so that by making them his own, he might scatter them. We have good examples of this in stories, e.g. of Damon and Pythias, Achilles and Patroclus. That a man should lay down his life for his friend may appear strange to men of common affections, who confine themselves to the narrow principle, *Charity begins at home*. Browne considered first what he owed to God, his country and his friends and in the fourth place he considered himself. He loved his friends even more than he loved his nearest relations. He loved his friend as he loved Virtue, his soul, his God (Sect. V). True affection, in which the two become as one, is indeed a mystery. United souls are not satisfied with embraces, but desire to be truly each other. This noble affection does not fall on men of common nature, but on those who are marked for virtue, and he that can love his friend with this noble ardour will in a certain measure love all. We should not pray for ourselves alone, but also for our friends. Browne cannot hear the passing bell being tolled, without praying for the departing soul, and as a physician he cannot go to cure the body of his patient, without forgetting his profession and praying for his soul. To pray for our enemies, that is for their souls, should be our daily practice. To do no injury, and take none was once a sufficient principle of morality for Browne ; but he has now taken

up a more severe resolution. And that is forgiveness. Revenge is the greatest injury, but forgiveness is the sweetest revenge. Man contains within himself a bundle of antipathies, and we must get the better of these antipathies. In each man there is going on a battle of Lepanto, of Passion against Reason, Reason against Faith, Faith against Satan, and of Conscience against all. It is no breach of charity against ourselves to be at variance with our vices, nor to abhor that part of us which is an enemy to charity and God. In doing that we only imitate the greater and better part of ourselves.

Browne thanks God that he has escaped one enemy of charity which is Pride, the first and root sin of all. Its name is a monosyllable but it extends to the boundaries of the world. He has seen grammarians who showed more pride in the construction of one Ode of Horace than the poet took in composing the whole book. Browne knows six languages, but is not proud about it. The wise man thinks he knows nothing till he knows all, and the latter being impossible, he falls back on the opinion of Socrates, who said that he only knew this that he knew nothing. And in much of our learning, tomorrow's judgment will unteach us a lot. Aristotle teaches what Plato taught him and that is to disprove himself. The wisest in the end turn into sceptics. Browne's conceit of knowledge would be humbled by Solomon who professed to be ignorant, being so wise. True knowledge often comes by a sort of intuition without being pursued with labour (Sect. VIII).

Browne was not married (at the time he composed the *Religio Medici*) and he approved the plan of those who wouldn't marry twice. Not that he was against a second marriage, or more marriages, because the inequality of number in the two sexes might render them necessary. It would have been happier if man could procreate like trees and perpetuate the race in some other than the vulgar way of sex union, which Browne considers to be the foolishest act a wise man commits in his life! This does not mean that Browne is prejudiced against women, who stand for all that is beautiful, and beauty even in a picture Browne can admire and the harmony of music. In fact he is so much in love with music that he does not disdain to appreciate even the music of the tavern! There is something divine in music more than the ear discovers. Browne would not say with Plato that the Soul is a harmony, but it is "harmonical" and has the nearest sympathy with music. Some are born poets, but even prose writers like Tacitus and Cicero (whom Browne calls the worst of poets, for some poetry the orator wrote) fall insensibly into the rhythm of verse. This desire for harmony makes Browne feel sympathy for the general good of humanity, which he has at heart. Like some other physicians he does not secretly rejoice at plagues and famines. He desired to cure his patient's infirmities rather than his own necessities. Each profession has its own weaknesses (Sect. IX).

No man is so bad but there is some good in him, within a limited circle. Browne was afraid of any

contagion from others : but he feared more for the corruption within himself, and therefore "Lord, deliver me from myself" was a part of his prayer. Man's life is a constant miracle. The world he considered not as an inn but as a hospital, and a place not to live in but to die in. But the mass of flesh that circumscribed him, did not limit his mind. There is surely a piece of divinity in man, something that existed before the elements and owed nothing to the sun. Both nature and Scripture tell him that he is an image of God. The last word for him is "Let the heavens fall, but let God's Will be done." In our dreams surely we have a more delightful apprehension of things than in our wakeful senses. Browne thanks God for his happy dreams, as he does for his good rest. We are somewhat nearer to our real selves in sleep, and the slumber of the body is but the waking of the Soul. Aristotle wrote a tract on sleep, but he has not thoroughly defined it, nor has Galen done so. We term sleep a death, but it is waking that kills us and destroys those spirits in which life consists. Sleep is a death that we die daily, and it is but fitting that we should say our prayer before we sleep! (Sect. XII).

The method Browne observes in distributive justice, he often employs in commutative justice and in trying to be just to others, he becomes unjust to himself. Avarice is a ridiculous vice. It is a sort of madness. If Gold is a God, Browne must confess himself to be an Atheist. He cannot persuade himself to honour what the world adores. Aristotle is

too strict in saying that only wealthy men can be liberal. Poor men can be liberal too, and even munificent. He is rich who has enough to be charitable and it is hard to be so poor that a noble mind may not find a way to the exercise of this virtue. He that giveth to the poor, lendeth to the Lord; there is more rhetoric in this sentence of scripture than in a library of sermons. (Sect. XIII). We must love God for his own sake, and we must love our neighbour for God's sake. That is true love and that is the source of our happiness. All that is truly amiable is God. The love for our parents, for wife and child, being born of the sense of natural affection is less real in comparison.

Finally there is no happiness but in God. All else is vanity and vexation of the spirit. Aristotle's *summum bonum* is a chimera, and there is no such thing as Aristotle's concept of Felicity. That in which God himself is happy, in which the holy angels are happy, and in the absence of which the devils are unhappy, Browne dared to call true happiness. Everything else which the world calls happy is to Browne a delusion.

IV. *Religio Medici*—Its Special Character.

As remarked above, *Religio Medici* is to be read for its autobiographical content. It is the autobiography of the author's Soul, of the better part of himself, rather than of his adventures or peregrinations on this planet, which he is so impatient to quit for that fuller life which his religious

faith holds out to him. It is the story of his thoughts, meditations, aspirations. The second part of *Religio Medici* is a pure autobiography. His character stands self-revealed, but he does not stand before us as a naked soul shivering in the cold before an unsympathetic public, nor as an impossible saint free from every fault and reproach, but as a man of culture and piety draped in the silver garment of hope that his religious convictions have girt around him. *Religio Medici* is not an autobiography in the sense that Gibbon's, Herbert Spencer's, and John Stuart Mill's autobiographies are. This does not mean that either Browne's book or the autobiographies of the historian or the two philosophers are not faithful records. The unique difference is that Browne tells us little about his doings and a lot about his musings. Most autobiographers tell us a lot about their doings and little about their musings.

Religio Medici is not a professed autobiography, nor did Browne live the life he lived, or thought the thoughts he thought that he might write an autobiography about himself! Fielding observes in the first chapter of *Joseph Andrews* that Colley Cibber was thought by many to have lived the strange life he lived in order that he might be able to write about it!

It has been said of Rousseau's *Confessions* that more often than not, he gives a false impression about himself. He attributes to himself a succession of immoral escapades which it is difficult to imagine such a philosopher, with the strong theistic bias we find in his writings, could have been capable of.

Again and again the thought rises in us that Rousseau must have been half mad to write this farrago of self-accusation. But such an autobiography may be more interesting in proportion to the amalgam of falsehood it contains. Interesting—to the author because otherwise he wouldn't have perpetrated the autobiography,—interesting perhaps to the reader, if indeed he is so credulous!

De Quincey has given us *The Confessions of an English Opium Eater* and a good deal of his writing has the flavour of an autobiographical spice about it. But in his *Confessions*, the earlier part of the book is an apology to show that he did not take to opium eating because of the pleasure of it, and the rest is like a peg to hang his general thoughts about life and letters upon.

Browne's *Religio Medici* makes no apology of any kind, except to show why he believes in Religion and to transmit to posterity a defence of those consolations which a religious philosophy alone can give. He does not enter on a *hortus siccus* of theological arguments, but states the well worn commonplaces of theological controversy, such as the argument from creation (the Harmony of the Universe) and the argument from Design or Purpose (the teleological argument) by reference to his own thoughts and feelings. And thus in the Second Part, when he discourses on the Christian virtue of Charity, his best argument is often a reference to his own life. As remarked earlier in this Introduction, Sir Kenelm Digby found fault with this personal reference. Digby, we might well understand,—though his remarks

were based on the unauthorized version,—took the book more as a learned book in defence of Religion and could not well appreciate the personal touch in it, as he might have done, if Browne had set about writing a formal autobiography. From the correspondence that ensued between the author and Kenelm Digby, published in this Edition before the text of *Religio Medici*, it is delightful to see that the latter ended the controversy and the correspondence with a hearty palinode.

Egoism is a fault of many autobiographers, and in this book, which is not a formal autobiography, —because it does not tell us where the author was born and when and where he was educated,—the reader may sometimes think there is a tinge of egotism in some of the author's statements, but the fact is that it is the sheer sincerity of the man which shines and speaks eloquently to us in these cases. The modern reader cannot but smile at Browne's candid confession of his belief in witch-craft, astrology, chiromancy, spirits and other old-world ideas. We have to judge the man as he was. He has drawn himself as he was and as he believed he rightly was in his opinions and character. "Paint me as I am" said Oliver Cromwell to the great painter, Sir Peter Lely, and Lely painted him as he was, warts and all! Browne has painted himself as he was and as he believed himself to be, with superstitious beliefs which the reader may laugh at, but which in his conceit were beauty-spots. We have the man as he was in his intellectual, emotional and spiritual nature. In between his lines and pages, we glimpse

him as he was in spirit and intellect. The man stands self-revealed, and his book stands justified because it shows us the man as he was without a veil. Mr. Augustine Birrell has said : "Unless a book reveals a character behind it, good or bad, it is a thing of naught" (Birrell's *Et Cetera*). The merit of *Religio Medici* is that it shows a character behind it and a good character at that, and the book stands justified of itself. The man was one among a thousand, and his book is one among a thousand, and if there is a mistake in this, it probably lies in this that we speak of a thousand when we should have multiplied the number by ten, and this is true both of the man and of the book. Few doctors of medicine could have written such a book, and as such, it is unique. The allusions, the philosophy, the learning bear witness to his vast reading and deep meditation ; and his greatest pleasure seems to consist in the deftness and consummate art which enables him to reconcile his literary tastes and pursuits to the consolations of religion and a spiritual life.

It has been noticed above that Browne's attitude to theology is on a par with that of Bacon. A more exact comparison can be made with Pascal, the French Philosopher who was contemporary with Browne. The late Mr. Edmund Gosse in his Life of Sir Thomas Browne (*The English Men of Letters* Series) observed that the attitude of Browne to Religion and Science was almost exactly that which Pascal adopted in the *Preface du Traite du Vide,* published four years later than *Religio Medici.* Both the French and the English Philosopher held at the

time that the realms of Science and Religion are entirely distinct.

In theology all depends upon authority and tradition, and has been settled long ago, and handed down to us. In Science authority does not come in of itself, but all ground covered has to be constantly verified by experiment. The one is stationary, the other on the march. Neither Pascal nor Browne allowed Science to interfere in the domain of faith or with the dogmatism of moral ideas. Mr. Gosse further proceeds to tell us that both Pascal and Browne looked upon the generations of humanity as a single man, whose conduct was fixed by a set of stationary injunctions, above and beyond all criticism. The doctrine of Evolution has overthrown this idea. Evolution has prepared us to expect a gradual shaping of ethical and religious concepts through the centuries. We must however remember that even professed scientists like Ampere, Michael Faraday and Hugh Miller could combine the utmost independence and exact the utmost rigidity of proof in science, while contenting themselves with passive acceptance in matters of religion. Faraday indeed went so far as to accept and support with ardent advocacy the theological creed of the obscure Christian sect of the Sandemanians or Glassites. Pascal ended his life as an ascetic and a thorough-going pessimist as regards human knowledge and endeavour, believing in nothing except the necessity of a humble resignation to the will of God. Browne lived and died an optimist, pursuing his hobbies and his science.

Sir Kenelm Digby in his *Observations on Religio Medici* showed sympathy with the Platonism of Browne's views (See *Religio Medici*, Part I, Sections XXXIII and LIX) but he would have preferred Browne to be a bit more transcendental in his conception of eternity. In one matter, Digby went beyond the thought of his day : he expressed doubt about the existence of malevolent spirits, about which Browne had shown such cocksureness. Digby however harps constantly on Browne's learning ; it is not the learning, but the art and style and the human interest of the book that weighs with the modern reader. Browne was probably right when he said that true knowledge comes by a sort of intuition, without being pursued with much labour.

Though the book was so much praised, Browne had to face some fierce criticism. Alexander Ross, a Scottish pamphleteer of the day, familiar to the readers of Samuel Butler's *Hudibras*, at the instigation of Edward Benlowes, a Catholic who had turned into a rabid Protestant, and other friends came out with a pamphlet, "*Medicus Medicatus* or the Physician's Religion cured by a lenitive or gentle potion." The book assailed the liberality of Browne's outlook upon Christianity, and it was praised by the Puritans of the day as a "learned, sound and solid" contribution to philosophy. The book attacked both Sir Thomas Browne and Sir Kenelm Digby. Ross criticised Browne's sentimentality, his rhetoric and looseness of logic,—which charge can easily be sustained,—and he quoted long passages from *Religio Medici* and tried to refute them. Ross's

indignation as a stern Puritan seems to boil in his veins, when he sees or smells a feeling of tenderness in Browne towards the Roman Catholics and his tolerance generally. But with all this, Browne's renown as a thinker and apologist for Christianity spread rapidly through England, and long before his death, Browne had the consolation to see his book translated not only into Latin but also into several of the languages of modern Europe.

V. *Sir Thomas Browne*—A Brief Survey of His Diction, Vocabulary and Wit.

It will not be out of place to mention here a few of the *Latinisms* from *Religio Medici,* without any pretence to exhaust the subject. It is inexhaustible in itself and only a few can here be noticed. Priority of place should be given, we think to Latin words framed by Browne, which the ordinary Latin Dictionary would scarcely show. We have, for instance, *improperations* (Part I, Sect. III) a word which puzzled all transcribers of the text, while still in MSS. and which Ruddiman in his edition of 1754 changed into *Improprieties.* Browne uses the word in the sense of "reproachful" or "taunting language." Browne seems to have coined it from the Latin "Impropero." He uses *supputation* for "computation" in Part I, Sect. XVIII. It is a pure coinage! Then we have *effront* (Part I Sect. XL) in the sense of "give confidence" or "embolden"; and *carnified* (Part I Sect. XXXVII) for "made flesh", *glome* (Part I Sect. XLIII) from Latin "glomus" for "a clue of yarn or worsted"; *inorga-*

nity (Part I, Sect. XXXVI) for the "inorganical nature" of the Soul; *indifferency*, (Part I, Sect. I) for "impartiality of behaviour"; *legacied* (Part II, Sect. III) for "bequeathed"; *omneity* (Part I, Sect. XXXV) for "allness" in opposition to "nullity"; *insensible* (Part II, Sect. V), for "too small to be felt"; *moderator* (Part I, Sect. XXXIII) for "umpire". *Advisoes* for "admonitions" in Part I, Sect. XIX is a coinage from a similar *Italian* word. "Argumentation" is used in Part II, Sect. III in the sense of "Controversy" and he uses "discuss" in the sense of "scatter" (Part II, Sect. V).

In Browne again we have one class of Latinised words, which consists of abstract nouns and used as concrete and in some cases, the unfamiliar term has led editors to adopt a different reading of the text. Thus in the 3rd Section of Part I, the expression "desperate resolutions" led Chapman and others to restore the reading *resolvers* found in the unauthorised editions. Browne means by *Resolutions* persons of a resolute character. The concrete meaning of the *abstract* word thus used is usually plural. In this way Browne uses *ingenuities* for "persons of ingenuity"; pieties for "persons of piety"; intelligences for "men of intelligence"; *honesties* for "honest men"; and *Zeals* for "men of zeal". (Part I, Sect. LX).

Browne naturally presents many cases of words of Latin origin which are used by him in *two* or *more* senses, with different meanings altogether. The best example is *affections*, which in Part I, Sect. XXXVI, he uses in the sense of "qualities" or

"properties", while in Part I, Sect. XLII and in many other places, he uses the word in the sense of "passions" or "feelings", while the ordinary modern connotation of the term, meaning *love* or *kindness* is also to be found. In the same way he uses the word *disprove* in its ordinary sense of "*confute*" (Cf. Part I, Sect. VII, Line 6) and in the unusual sense of "*disapprove*" in Part I, Sect. V, line 15, according to some editors at any rate, though with Wilkin, we adopt the reading "disapproving" instead of "disproving" followed by Dr. Greenhill. The latter remarks that not only Browne but also Hooker uses *disproving* for "disapproving."

There are other cases where he coins new terms from well-known Latin words, which however in the new form don't exist in Latin or are seldom met with. In *Christian Morals* for instance he has formed the new compound "longanimity" meaning "long-suffering" which no Latin author ever dreamt of using. So the noun "liquation" in the phrase "fall into liquation" (Part I, Sect. L.) is quite unusual. Worse still is "luciferously" for "luminously" in *Christian Morals*. In a similar way he forms the word "Phytognomy" (Part II, Sect II) by way of analogy to the familiar word "Physiognomy".

The student of Browne can form another assortment of words where the peculiarity is that he uses them as different parts of speech, altogether from the usual custom. We use "abrupt" as an adjective, but in one case, Browne uses *abrupt* as a verb meaning, "to break off". (Vide Part I, Sect. XIII,

Verses, page 29). He uses the word *material*, (which we invariably use as a noun or adjective) as a verb in Part I, Sect. XXXVII, in the sense of to "materialise". He uses "profound" as a verb, meaning to "fathom" or "plunge into" in Part I, Sect. XIII (where some editors adopt the reading "propound" instead), in Part I, Sect. XIV (in the expression, "to profound further" and in Part I, Sect. LV ("profound us deeper in it"). In Part I, Sect. V, Browne uses the word "difference" as a verb, in the sense of "differentiate" or "distinguish."

We find in Browne some constructions which are far from usual, though older style can give us many examples, e.g. Browne writes "prohibit .... to pollute (Part I, Sect. III) instead of "prohibit .. *from* polluting". The use of *had* for "would have" in hypothetical sentences is a vice that clings to this prose writer as a leech even more than to the poets of his time, and it makes the text more difficult of apprehension to a reader accustomed to modern literature. A similar observation has to be made about the use of the articles *a* or *an*, which will often appear unfamiliar to the modern reader.

If the Latinity of Browne is to be accounted for by the fact that he was a Renaissance writer, when Latin stuck to the author's sleeves like burrs, this circumstance also explains the sudden deviation into quotation of Latin poets or prosaists, examples of which are interspersed everywhere. But more especially to be noticed is the practice of Browne to plunge into Christian theology in its Latin garb, though occasionally a Greek word like *Entelecheia*

(Cf. Part I, Sect. X) or *Batrachomyomachia*, Part II, Sect. III appears before us out of the foam. It is not to show his learning that he quotes the Latin; it was the custom of the time and the result of the educational system, which was practically Latin, Latin and scarcely anything else but Latin. But it will be seen that Browne quotes more freely from the Scripture and his argument is often a tissue of Scriptural allusion or precedent. In doing so, he does not so insistently quote from the Latin *Vulgate* (the Latin form of the Bible as used in Catholic countries) as Bacon does in his *Essays*. But what is most startling to the reader and is a vivid characteristic of Browne's vigour and precision of expression is the fact that in the midst of an impassioned passage he suddenly concludes on the note of a Latin word used in an extraordinary way. To take a brief instance or two, consider this sentence in Part I, Sect. IX: "I love to lose myself in a mystery, to pursue my reason to an *O altitudo*"! Or "'Tis not a melancholy *Ultinam* of my own" in Part I, Sect. XXIV.

Another mark of the influence of Renaissance or Elizabethan style upon Browne is the frequency with which he quotes Italian or French or Spanish words or phrases, such as "basilisco" (Part II, Sect. III); advisoes (Part I, Sect. IX) fougade (Part I, Sect. XVII); *Bezo las manos*, and *gramercy* (Part I, Sect. XVII).

We may conclude this survey of Browne's diction with a brief reference to certain adverbial and adjectival forms one comes across in Browne's writ-

ing, e.g. "aequilibriously" (*Christian Morals*); "dissimilarity" (Part II, Sect. X) "Complexionally" meaning "by temperament" (Part I, Sect. VIII); "quodlibetically" (*Christian Morals*); "Extemporary" (Part I, Sect. XXXIII); "powerfullest" (Part I, Sect. L). And it is impossible to enumerate the new nouns Browne has coined from various sources, such as "Contrariety" (meaning "opposition") in (Part I, Sect. XVII) "refute" (meaning refutation"); "rusticity" for "simplicity" (Part I, Sect. XIII) "trajection" for "emission" (Part II, Sect. IV) and "traduction" for "propagation or derivation from one of the same kind" (Part I, Sect. XXXVI).

A final remark that remains to be made is the fact that Browne seems to have made a deep study of logic as well as rhetoric. Not only does he use rhetoric himself, but when he quotes an author, he goes a bit out of the way to name the figure of speech he is at the moment quoting. Similarly he refers to the technicalities of Logic, as well as grammar. He tells us about "antanaclasis" in grammar or rather its more correct form "antimetathesis" (Part I, Sect. XXXVI) which he finds illustrated in a sentence of Augustine; and in Part II, Sect. X he tells us about the *antiperistasis* or the logician's trick of heightening by contrast. But for Browne, the modern reader would not have cared much to deal with these learned terms of grammar and rhetoric. The modern trick is to secure the effects of rhetoric, without reader or writer getting enmeshed in technical terms. None but a grammarian will

tell us that Augustine is indulging in a figure of speech in this or that place. But Browne does so.

In spite of the cumbrousness of his Latinised style, referred to elsewhere, we notice in many places the energy and terseness of Browne's writing. He likes pithiness. He quotes the pithy saying of Cicero (Part II, Sect. X) "nunquam minus solus quam cum solus" ("Never less alone than when alone"). And Browne does not forget to tell us that this is An "Apophthegm" or aphorism of a wise man (viz. Cicero) and still more aphoristically he proceeds to tell us, that though it is the apophthegm of a wise man, yet is it true in the mouth of a fool. It will be a pleasant exercise—or "exercitation", to quote a word Browne would have used—for the reader to try to recollect and re-arrange some of the witty sayings of Browne. To relate his own life, he tells us (Part II, Sect. XI) would not be a history but a piece of poetry, and would sound to common ears as a fable! This world he considered not as an *inn* (Shades of Omar Khyyam! of whom however, Browne had never heard) but an hospital—and a place not to live in, but to die in. "The world that I regard is myself: it is the microcosm of my own frame that I cast mine eye on; for the other I use it but like my globe, and turn it round sometimes for my recreation" (Part II, Sect. XI). What a beautiful passage! Here we have philosophy, here we have humour, here we have epigram, and aphoristic wit. What we have *not* here is the heaviness and cumbrousness we find elsewhere,—less in Browne's than in Milton's prose. When Browne

tells us that " Art is the perfection of Nature " (Part II, Sect. XVI) or that " Nature is the Art of God ", (ibidem) or that " the Universe itself is a tomb to him who lies unburied (Part I, Sect XLI quoted from Lucan) or that " it is the truest valour to dare to live " (Part I, Sect. XLV) or " I was dead before I was alive " (Part I, Sect. LIX), he expresses in the briefest dimensions a thought that scales the universe and a wit that is more concentrated than Cicero's or Martial's.

A Letter

From Sir Thomas Browne to Sir Kenelm Digby

HONOURED SIR,

Give your servant, who hath ever honoured you, leave to take notice of a book at present in the press, entitled (as I am informed) *Animadversions upon a Treatise, lately printed, under the name of "Religio Medici"*. Hereof, I am advertised, you have descended to be the author. Worthy sir, permit your servant to affirm there is contained therein nothing that can deserve the reason of your contradictions, much less the candour of your *Animadversions*. And to certify the truth thereof, that book (whereof I do acknowledge myself the author) was penned many years past, and (what cannot escape your apprehension) with no intention for the press, or the least desire to oblige the faith of any man to its assertions. But what hath more especially emboldened my pen unto you at present is, that the same piece, contrived in my private study, and as an exercise unto myself, rather than an exercitation for any other, having passed from my hand under a broken and imperfect copy, by frequent transcription it still run forward into corruption, and after the addition of some things, omission of others, and transposition of many, without my assent or privacy, the liberty of these times

committed it unto the press; whence it issued so disguised, the author, without distinction, could not acknowledge it. Having thus miscarried, within a few weeks I shall, God willing, deliver unto the press the true and intended original (whereof, in the meantime your worthy self may command a view); otherwise, whenever that copy shall be extant, it will most clearly appear how far the text hath been mistaken, and all observations, glosses, and exercitations thereon, will in a great part impugn the printer or transcriber, rather than the author. If, after that, you shall esteem it worth your vacant hours to discourse thereon, you shall but take that liberty which I assume myself, that is, freely to abound in your sense as I have done in my own. However you shall determine, you shall sufficiently honour me in the vouchsafe of your refute, and I oblige the whole world in the occasion of your pen.

Your servant,
T. B.

NORWICH,
March 3, 1642.

Reply

By Sir Kenelm Digby

WORTHY SIR,

Speedily upon the receipt of your letter of the third current, I sent to find out the printer that Mr. Crook (who delivered me yours) told me was printing something under my name, concerning your treatise of *Religio Medici,* and to forbid him any further proceeding therein ; but my servant could not meet with him ; whereupon I have left with Mr. Crook a note to that purpose, entreating him to deliver it to the printer. I verily believe there is some mistake in the information given you, and that what is printing must be from some other pen than mine ; for such reflections as I made upon your learned and ingenious discourse are so far from meriting the press, as they can tempt nobody to a serious reading of them. They were notes hastily set down, as I suddenly ran over your excellent piece, which is of so weighty subject, and so strongly penned, as requireth much time, and sharp attention but to comprehend it ; whereas, what I wrote was the employment but of one sitting ; and there were not twenty-four hours between my receiving my Lord of Dorset's letter that occasioned what I said, and the finishing my answer to him ; and yet part of that time was taken up in procuring your book, which

he desired me to read and give him an account of, for till then I was so unhappy as never to have heard of that worthy discourse. If that letter ever come to your view you will see the high value I set upon your great parts : and if it should be thought I have been something too bold in differing from your sense, I hope I shall easily obtain pardon, when it shall be considered that his lordship assigned it me as an exercitation, to oppose in it, for entertainment, such passages as I might judge capable thereof ; wherein what liberty I took is to be attributed to the security of a private letter, and to my not knowing (nor my lord's) the person whom it concerned.

But, sir, now that I am so happy as to have that knowledge, I dare assure you that nothing shall ever issue from me but savouring of all honour, esteem, and reverence both to yourself, and that worthy production of yours. If I had the vanity to give myself reputation by entering the lists in public with so eminent and learned a man as you are, yet I know right well I am no ways able to do it ; it would be a very unequal progress. I pretend not to learning ; those slender notions I have are but disjointed pieces I have by chance gleaned up here and there. To encounter such a sinewy opposite, or make animadversions upon so smart a piece as yours is, requireth such a solid stock and exercise in school-learning. My superficial besprinkling will serve only for a private letter, or a familiar discourse with lady-auditors. With longing I expect the coming abroad of the true copy of that book, whose false and stolen one hath already given me so much delight. And so, assuring

you I shall deem it a great good fortune to deserve your favour and friendship, I kiss your hand, and rest,

Your most humble servant,

KENELM DIGBY

WINCHESTER HOUSE,
March 20, 1642.

Author's Preface
To the Reader

Certainly that man were greedy of life, who should desire to live when all the world were at an end; and he must needs be very impatient, who would repine at death in the society of all things that suffer under it. Had not almost every man suffered by the press, or were not the tyranny thereof become universal, I had not wanted reason for complaint: but in times wherein I have lived to behold the highest perversion of that excellent invention, the name of his majesty defamed, the honour of parliament depraved, the writings of both depravedly, anticipatively, counterfeitly imprinted; complaints may seem ridiculous in private persons; and men of my condition may be as incapable of affronts, as hopeless of their reparations. And truly had not the duty I owe unto the importunity of friends, and the allegiance I must ever acknowledge unto truth, prevailed with me, the inactivity of my disposition might have made these sufferings continual, and time, that brings other things to light, should have satisfied me in the remedy of its oblivion. But because things evidently false are not only printed, but many things of truth most falsely set forth, in this latter I could not but think myself engaged. For though we have no power to redress the former, yet in the other, re-

paration being within ourselves, I have at present represented unto the world a full and intended copy of that piece, which was most imperfectly and surreptitiously published before.

This I confess, about seven years past, with some others of affinity thereto, for my private exercise and satisfaction I had at leisurable hours composed; which being communicated unto one, it became common unto many, and was by transcription successively corrupted, until it arrived in a most depraved copy at the press. He that shall peruse that work, and shall take notice of sundry particulars and personal expressions therein, will easily discern the intention was not public: and being a private exercise directed to myself, what is delivered therein was rather a memorial unto me, than an example or rule unto any other: and therefore if there be any singularity therein correspondent unto the private conceptions of any man, it doth not advantage them: or if dissentaneous thereunto, it no way overthrows them. It was penned in such a place, and with such disadvantage, that (I protest) from the first setting of pen unto paper, I had not the assistance of any good book, whereby to promote my invention, or relieve my memory, and therefore there might be many real lapses therein, which others might take notice of, and more than I suspected myself. It was set down many years past, and was the sense of my conception at that time, not an immutable law unto my advancing judgment at all times; and therefore there might be many things therein plausible unto my passed apprehension, which are not agreeable unto my

present self. There are many things delivered rhetorically, many expressions therein merely tropical, and as they best illustrate my intention, and therefore also there are many things to be taken in a soft and flexible sense, and not to be called unto the rigid test of reason. Lastly, all that is contained therein is in submission unto maturer discernments; and as I have declared, shall no further father them than the best and learned judgments shall authorize them; under favour of which considerations I have made its secrecy public, and committed the truth there to every ingenious reader.

THOMAS BROWNE.

Religio Medici

PART I

SECT. I.

The author claims to be a physician, but also a Christian.

For my religion, though there be several circumstances that might persuade the world I have none at all, as the general scandal of my profession, the natural course of my studies, the indifferency of my behaviour and discourse in matters of religion,—neither violently defending one, nor with that common ardour and contention opposing another,—yet in despite hereof, I dare, without usurpation, assume the honourable style of a Christian. Not that I merely owe this title to the font, my education, or clime wherein I was born, as being bred up either to confirm those principles my parents instilled into my understanding, or by a general consent proceed in the religion of my country: but having in my riper years and confirmed judgment, seen and examined all, I find myself obliged, by the principles of grace, and the law of mine own reason, to embrace no other name but this: neither doth herein my zeal so far make me forget the general charity I owe unto humanity, as rather to hate than pity Turks and infidels, and (what is worse) Jews; rather contenting myself to enjoy that happy style,

or promote my invisible devotion. I should violate my own arm rather than a church, nor willingly deface the name of saint or martyr. At the sight of a cross or crucifix I can dispense with my hat, but scarce with the thought or memory of my Saviour: I cannot laugh at, but rather pity the fruitless journeys of pilgrims, or contemn the miserable condition of friars; for though misplaced in circumstances, there is something in it of devotion. I could never hear the Ave Maria bell without an elevation, or think it a sufficient warrant, because they erred in one circumstance, for me to err in all, that is, in silence and dumb contempt; whilst therefore they direct their devotions to her, I offer mine to God, and rectify the errors of their prayers, by rightly ordering mine own. At a solemn procession I have wept abundantly, while my consorts, blind with opposition and prejudice, have fallen into an excess of scorn and laughter. There are, questionless, both in Greek, Roman, and African churches, solemnities and ceremonies, whereof the wiser zeals do make a Christian use, and stand condemned by us, not as evil in themselves, but as allurements and baits of superstition to those vulgar heads that look asquint on the face of truth, and those unstable judgments that cannot resist in the narrow point and centre of virtue without a reel or stagger to the circumference.

SECT. IV. There have been many reformers

As there were many reformers, so likewise

many reformations; every country proceeding in a particular way and method, according as their national interest, together with their constitution and clime inclined them; some angrily, and with extremity; others calmly, and with mediocrity, not rending, but easily dividing the community, and leaving an honest possibility of a reconciliation; which, though peaceable spirits do desire, and may conceive that revolution of time and the mercies of God may effect, yet that judgment that shall consider the present antipathies between the two extremes, their contrarieties in condition, affection, and opinion, may with the same hopes expect an union in the poles of heaven.

and many reformations, in each country, according to its need.

SECT. V.

The creed of the Church of England agrees with the author's conscience.

But to difference myself nearer, and draw into a lesser circle: there is no church, whose every part so squares unto my conscience; whose articles, constitutions, and customs seem so consonant unto reason, and as it were framed to my particular devotion, as this whereof I hold my belief, the Church of England, to whose faith I am a sworn subject; and therefore in a double obligation subscribe unto her articles, and endeavour to observe her constitutions; whatsoever is beyond, as points indifferent, I observe according to the rules of my private reason, or the humour and fashion of my devotion; neither believing this, because Luther affirmed it, nor disapproving that, because Calvin hath disavouched it. I condemn not all things in the council of Trent, nor ap-

prove all in the synod of Dort. In brief, where the Scripture is silent, the church is my text; where that speaks, it is but my comment: where there is a joint silence of both, I borrow not the rules of my religion from Rome or Geneva, but the dictates of my own reason. It is an unjust scandal of our adversaries and a gross error in ourselves, to compute the nativity of our religion from Henry the Eighth, who though he rejected the pope, refused not the faith of Rome, and effected no more than what his own predecessors desired and essayed in ages past, and was conceived the state of Venice would have attempted in our days. It is as uncharitable a point in us to fall upon those popular scurrilities and opprobrious scoffs of the bishop of Rome, to whom, as temporal prince, we owe the duty of good language. I confess there is a cause of passion between us; by his sentence I stand excommunicated; heretic is the best language he affords me; yet can no ear witness, I ever returned him the name of antichrist, man of sin, or whore of Babylon. It is the method of charity to suffer without reaction; those usual satires and invectives of the pulpit may perchance produce a good effect on the vulgar, whose ears are opener to rhetoric than logic; yet do they in no wise confirm the faith of wiser believers, who know that a good cause needs not to be pardoned by passion, but can sustain itself upon a temperate dispute.

SECT. VI.

Disputes in religion should be wisely avoided. Fantasies in Divinity are dangerous and give entrance to errors. The author confesses to have fallen into two or three errors, described below.

I could never divide myself from any man upon the difference of an opinion, or be angry with his judgment for not agreeing with me in that, from which within a few days I should dissent myself. I have no genius to disputes in religion, and have often thought it wisdom to decline them, especially upon a disadvantage, or when the cause of truth might suffer in the weakness of my patronage. Where we desire to be informed, it is good to contest with men above ourselves ; but to confirm and establish our opinions it is best to argue with judgments below our own, that the frequent spoils and victories over their reasons, may settle in ourselves an esteem and confirmed opinion of our own. Every man is not a proper champion for truth, nor fit to take up the gauntlet in the cause of verity. Many from the ignorance of these maxims, and an inconsiderate zeal unto truth, have too rashly charged the troops of error, and remain as trophies unto the enemies of truth. A man may be in as just possession of truth as of a city, and yet be forced to surrender ; it is therefore far better to enjoy her with peace, than to hazard her on a battle : if therefore there rise any doubts in my way, I do forget them, or at least defer them till my better settled judgment and more manly reason be able to resolve them, for I perceive every man's own reason is his best Œdipus, and will, upon a reasonable truce, find a way to loose those

bonds wherewith the subtleties of error have enchained our more flexible and tender judgments. In philosophy, where truth seems double-faced, there is no man more paradoxical than myself ; but in divinity I love to keep the road ; and though not in an implicit, yet a humble faith, follow the great wheel of the church, by which I move, not reserving any proper poles or motion from the epicycle of my own brain ; by this means I have no gap for heresy, schisms, or errors, of which at present I hope I shall not injure truth to say, I have no taint or tincture. I must confess my greener studies have been polluted with two or three, not any begotten in the latter centuries, but old and obsolete, such as could never have been revived, but by such extravagant and irregular heads as mine ; for indeed heresies perish not with their authors, but like the river Arethusa, though they lose their currents in one place, they rise up again in another. One general council is not able to extirpate one single heresy : it may be cancelled for the present, but revolution of time, and the like aspects from heaven will restore it, when it will flourish till it be condemned again. For as though there were metempsychosis, and the soul of one man passed into another ; opinions do find, after certain revolutions, men and minds like those that first begat them. To see ourselves again, we need not look for Plato's year : every man is not only himself ;

there have been many Diogeneses, and as many Timons, though but few of that name; men are lived over again, the world is now as it was in ages past; there was none then, but there hath been some one since that parallels him, and as it were his revived self.

SECT. VII.

First, that the soul might in some sort perish, and rise again with the body. Second, that all men should finally be saved. Third, that we might pray for the dead, into which he was led by charitable motives. (See section VI of Part II.) But these errors the author did not allow to grow into heresies.

Now the first of mine was that of the Arabians, that the souls of men perished with their bodies, but should yet be raised again at the last day: not that I did absolutely conceive a mortality of the soul; but if that were, which faith, not philosophy, hath yet thoroughly disproved, and that both entered the grave together, yet I held the same conceit thereof that we all do for the body, that it rise again. Surely it is but the merits of our unworthy natures, if we sleep in darkness until the last alarm. A serious reflex upon my own unworthiness did make me backward from challenging this prerogative of my soul; so that I might enjoy my Saviour at the last, I could with patience be nothing almost unto eternity. The second was that of Origen, that God would not persist in his vengeance for ever, but after a definite time of his wrath, would release the damned souls from torture: which error I fell into upon a serious contemplation of the great attribute of God—his mercy; and did a little cherish it in myself, because I found therein no malice, and a ready weight to sway me from the other extreme of despair, whereunto melancholy and contemplative na-

tures are too easily disposed. A third there is which I did never positively maintain or practise, but have often wished it had been consonant to truth, and not offensive to my religion, and that is the prayer for the dead; whereunto I was inclined from some charitable inducements, whereby I could scarce contain my prayers for a friend at the ringing of a bell, or behold his corpse without an orison for his soul: it was a good way methought to be remembered by posterity, and far more noble than a history. These opinions I never maintained with pertinacity, or endeavoured to inveigle any man's belief unto mine, nor so much as ever revealed or disputed them with my dearest friends; by which means I neither propagated them in others, nor confirmed them in myself; but suffering them to flame upon their own substance, without addition of new fuel, they went out insensibly of themselves: therefore these opinions, though condemned by lawful councils, were not heresies in me, but bare errors, and single lapses of my understanding, without a joint depravity of my will: those have not only depraved understandings, but diseased affections, which cannot enjoy a singularity without a heresy, or be the author of an opinion without they be of a sect also. This was the villany of the first schism of Lucifer, who was not content to err alone, but drew into his faction many legions, and upon this experience he tempted only Eve, as well

understanding the communicable nature of sin, and that to deceive but one, was tacitly and upon consequence to delude them both.

SECT. VIII.

Heresies and schisms have the nature to go on multiplying themselves.

That heresies should arise, we have the prophecy of Christ; but that old ones should be abolished, we hold no prediction. That there must be heresies, is true, not only in our church, but also in any other: even in the doctrines heretical, there will be super-heresies; and Arians not only divided from their church, but also among themselves: for heads that are disposed unto schism and complexionably propense to innovation, are naturally indisposed for a community; nor will be ever confined unto the order or economy of one body; and therefore when they separate from others, they knit but loosely among themselves; nor contented with a general breach or dichotomy with their church, do subdivide and mince themselves almost into atoms. It is true, that men of singular parts and humours have not been free from singular opinions and conceits in all ages; retaining something not only beside the opinion of their own church or any other, but also any particular author; which, notwithstanding a sober judgment may do without offence or heresy; for there are yet, after all the decrees of councils, and the niceties of schools, many things untouched, unimagined, wherein the liberty of an honest reason may play and expatiate with security, and far without the circle of a heresy.

it becomes more humble and submissive unto the subtleties of faith; and thus I teach my haggard and unreclaimed reason to stoop unto the lure of faith. I believe there was already a tree whose fruit our unhappy parents tasted, though in the same chapter where God forbids it, it is positively said, the plants of the fields were not yet grown: for God had not caused it to rain upon the earth. I believe that the serpent, (if we shall literally understand it,) from his proper form and figure, made his motion on his belly before the curse. I find the trial of the pucelage and virginity of women, which God ordained the Jews, is very fallible. Experience and history inform me, that not only many particular women, but likewise whole nations have escaped the curse of childbirth, which God seems to pronounce upon the whole sex; yet do I believe that all this is true, which indeed my reason would persuade me to be false; and this I think is no vulgar part of faith, to believe a thing not only above, but contrary to reason, and against the arguments of our proper senses.

SECT. XI.

The author believes in God's Wisdom and Eternity, though Eternity is a concept too difficult to apprehend.

In my solitary and retired imagination, (*Neque enim cum porticus, aut me lectulus accepit, desum mihi,*) I remember I am not alone, and therefore forget not to contemplate Him and his attributes who is ever with me, especially those two mighty ones, his wisdom and eternity; with the one I recreate, with the other I confound my understanding: for who

can speak of eternity without a solecism, or think thereof without an ecstasy? Time we may comprehend: it is but five days older than ourselves, and hath the same horoscope with the world; but to retire so far back as to apprehend a beginning, to give such an infinite start forwards as to conceive an end in an essence that we affirm hath neither the one nor the other, it puts my reason to St. Paul's sanctuary: my philosophy dares not say the angels can do it; God hath not made a creature that can comprehend him; it is a privilege of his own nature. "I am that I am", was his own definition unto Moses; and it was a short one, to confound mortality, that durst question God, or ask him what he was; indeed he only is; all others have been and shall be. But in eternity there is no distinction of tenses; and therefore that terrible term, predestination, which hath troubled so many weak heads to conceive, and the wisest to explain, is in respect to God no prescious determination of our estates to come, but a definitive blast of his will already fulfilled, and at the instant that he first decreed it; for to his eternity which is indivisible, and altogether, the last trump is already sounded, the reprobates in the flame, and the blessed in Abraham's bosom. St. Peter speaks modestly, when he saith, a thousand years to God are but as one day: for to speak like a philosopher, those continued instances of time which flow into a thousand

years, make not to him one moment; what to us is to come, to his eternity is present, his whole duration being but one permanent point, without succession, parts, flux, or division.

SECT. XII.

The mystery of the Trinity, the triple Unity of God, and the Trinity of our souls. The visible world is a picture of the invisible.

There is no attribute that adds more difficulty to the mystery of the Trinity, where, though in a relative way of father and son, we must deny a priority. I wonder how Aristotle could conceive the world eternal, or how he could make good two eternities. His similitude of a triangle, comprehended in a square, doth somewhat illustrate the trinity of our souls, and that the triple unity of God; for there is in us not three, but a trinity of souls, because there is in us, if not three distinct souls, yet differing faculties, that can, and do subsist apart in different subjects, and yet in us are thus united as to make but one soul and substance. If one soul were so perfect as to inform three distinct bodies, that were a petty trinity: conceive the distinct number of three, not divided nor separated by the intellect, but actually comprehended in its unity, and that is a perfect trinity. I have often admired the mystical way of Pythagoras, and the secret magic of numbers. Beware of philosophy, is a precept not to be received in too large a sense; for in this mass of nature there is a set of things that carry in their front, though not in capital letters, yet in stenography, and short characters, something of divinity, which to wiser reasons serve as luminaries in the abyss of knowledge,

and to judicious beliefs, as scales and rundles to mount the pinnacles and highest pieces of divinity. The severe schools shall never laugh me out of the philosophy of Hermes, that this visible world is but a picture of the invisible, wherein as in a portrait, things are not truly, but in equivocal shapes, and as they counterfeit some real substance in that invisible fabric.

SECT. XIII.

The author feels more happy in contemplating the Wisdom of God. There is no danger in attempting to trace the hand of God in His works.

That other attribute wherewith I recreate my devotion, is his wisdom, in which I am happy; and for the contemplation of this only, do not repent me that I was bred in the way of study: the advantage I have of the vulgar, with the content and happiness I conceive therein, is an ample recompense for all my endeavours, in what part of knowledge soever. Wisdom is his most beauteous attribute; no man can attain unto it; yet Solomon pleased God when he desired it. He is wise, because he knows all things; and he knoweth all things, because he made them all: but his greatest knowledge is in comprehending that he made not, that is, himself. And this is also the greatest knowledge in man. For this do I honour my own profession, and embrace the counsel even of the devil himself: had he read such a lecture in paradise, as he did at Delphos, we had better known ourselves; nor had we stood in fear to know him. I know God is wise in all, wonderful in what we conceive, but far more in what we comprehend not; for we behold him but asquint upon reflex or shadow:

our understanding is dimmer than Moses's eye; we are ignorant of the back parts or lower side of his divinity ; therefore to pry into the maze of his counsels, is not only folly in man, but presumption even in angels ; like us, they are his servants, not his senators ; he holds no counsel, but that mystical one of the Trinity, wherein, though there be three persons, there is but one mind that decrees without contradiction : nor needs he any ; his actions are not begot with deliberation, his wisdom naturally knows what is best ; his intellect stands ready fraught with the superlative and purest ideas of goodness ; consultation and election, which are two motions in us, make but one in him ; his action springing from his power, at the first touch of his will. These are contemplations metaphysical : my humble speculations have another method, and are content to trace and discover those expressions he hath left in his creatures, and the obvious effects of nature ; there is no danger to profound these mysteries, no *sanctum sanctorum* in philosophy : the world was made to be inhabited by beasts ; but studied and contemplated by man : it is the debt of our reason we owe unto God, and the homage we pay for not being beasts ; without this, the world is still as though it had not been, or as it was before the sixth day, when as yet there was not a creature that could conceive, or say there was a world. The wisdom of God receives small honour from those vul-

gar heads that rudely stare about, and with a gross rusticity admire his works; those highly magnify him, whose judicious inquiry into his acts, and deliberate research into his creatures, return the duty of a devout and learned admiration. Therefore,

Search where thou wilt; and let thy reason go
To ransom truth, e'en to th' abyss below;
Rally the scattered causes; and that line
Which nature twists be able to untwine;
It is thy Maker's will; for unto none
But unto reason can he e'er be known
The devils do know thee; but those damn'd meteors
Build not thy glory, but confound thy creatures.
Teach my endeavours so thy works to read,
That learning them in thee I may proceed.
Give thou my reason that instructive flight,
Whose weary wings may on thy hands still light.
Teach me to soar aloft, yet ever so,
When near the sun, to stoop again below.
Thus shall my humble feathers safely hover,
And though near earth, more than the heav'ns
    discover.
And then at last, when homeward I shall drive,
Rich with the spoils of nature, to my hive,
There will I sit, like that industrious fly,
Buzzing thy praises; which shall never die
Till death abrupts them, and succeeding glory
Bid me go on in a more lasting story.

And this is almost all wherein a humble creature may endeavour to requite, and some way to retribute unto his Creator: for if not he that saith Lord, Lord, but he that doth the will of his Father, shall be saved, certainly our wills must be our performances, and our intents

make out our actions; otherwise our pious labours shall find anxiety in our graves, and our best endeavours not hope, but fear a resurrection.

SECT. XIV.

For every *essence* i.e. in every thing that exists, there is its final cause, and on this final (or Purpose) cause hangs the Providence of God.

There is but one first cause, and four second causes of all things; some are without efficient, as God; others without matter, as angels; some without form, as the first matter: but every essence, created or uncreated, hath its final cause, and some positive end both of its essence and operation; this is the cause I grope after in the works of nature; on this hangs the providence of God. To raise so beauteous a structure, as the world and the creatures thereof, was but his art; but their sundry and divided operations, with their predestinated ends, are from the treasure of his wisdom. In the causes, nature, and affections of the eclipses of the sun and moon, there is most excellent speculation; but to profound farther, and to contemplate a reason why his providence hath so disposed and ordered their motions in that vast circle, as to conjoin and obscure each other, is a sweeter piece of reason, and a diviner point of philosophy; therefore sometimes, and in some things, there appears to me as much divinity in Galen's books *De Usu Partium*, as in Suarez's *Metaphysics*: had Aristotle been as curious in the inquiry of this cause as he was of the other, he had not left behind him an imperfect piece of philosophy, but an absolute tract of divinity.

SECT. XV.

Nature does nothing in vain. Every thing has its Purpose.

Natura nihil agit frustra, is the only indisputable axiom in philosophy ; there are no grotesques in nature ; not anything framed to fill up empty cantons, and unnecessary spaces : in the most imperfect creatures, and such as were not preserved in the ark, but having their seeds and principles in the womb of nature, are everywhere, where the power of the sun is, in these is the wisdom of his hand discovered. Out of this rank Solomon chose the objects of admiration ; indeed what reason may not go to school to the wisdom of bees, ants, and spiders ? what wise hand teacheth them to do what reason cannot teach us ? ruder heads stand amazed at those prodigious pieces of nature, whales, elephants, dromedaries, and camels ; these I confess are the colossus and majestic pieces of her hand : but in these narrow engines there is more curious mathematics ; and the civility of these little citizens, more neatly sets forth the wisdom of their Maker. Who admires not Regio Montanus's fly beyond his eagle, or wonders not more at the operation of two souls in those little bodies, than but one in the trunk of a cedar ? I could never content my contemplation with those general pieces of wonder, the flux and reflux of the sea, the increase of Nile, the conversion of the needle to the north ; and have studied to match and parallel those in the more obvious and neglected pieces of nature, which without further travel I can do in the cosmography of myself. We carry with us the

wonders we seek without us : there is all Africa and her prodigies in us : we are that bold and adventurous piece of nature, which he that studies wisely learns in a compendium, what others labour at in a divided piece and endless volume.

SECT. XVI.

Nature is a Bible open to all.

Thus there are two books from whence I collect my divinity—besides that written one of God, another of his servant nature ; that universal and public manuscript, that lies expanded unto the eyes of all—those that never saw him in the one, have discovered him in the other. This was the scripture and theology of the heathens ; the natural motion of the sun made them more admire him, than its supernatural station did the children of Israel ; the ordinary effects of nature wrought more admiration in them than in the other all his miracles : surely the heathens knew better how to join and read these mystical letters than we Christians, who cast a more careless eye on these common hieroglyphics, and disdain to suck divinity from the flowers of nature. Nor do I so forget God as to adore the name of nature ; which I define not with the schools, to be the principle of motion and rest, but that straight and regular line, that settled and constant course the wisdom of God hath ordained the actions of his creatures, according to their several kinds. To make a revolution every day is the nature of the sun, because of that necessary course which God hath ordained

it, from which, by a faculty from that voice which first did give it motion, it cannot swerve. Now this course of nature God seldom alters or perverts, but like an excellent artist hath so contrived his work, that with the self-same instrument, without a new creation, he may effect his obscurest designs. Thus he sweeteneth the water with a wood, preserveth the creatures in the ark, which the blast of his mouth might have as easily created; for God is like a skilful geometrician, who when more easily, and with one stroke of his compass, he might describe or divide a right line, had yet rather to do this in a circle or longer way, according to the constituted and forelaid principles of his art: yet this rule of his he doth sometimes pervert, to acquaint the world with his prerogative, lest the arrogancy of our reason should question his power, and conclude he could not. And thus I call the effects of nature the works of God, whose hand and instrument she only is; and therefore to ascribe his actions unto her is to devolve the honour of the principal agent upon the instrument; which if with reason we may do, then let our hammers rise up and boast they have built our houses, and our pens receive the honour of our writing. I hold there is a general beauty in the works of God, and therefore no deformity in any kind or species of creature whatsoever. I cannot tell by what logic we call a toad, a bear, or an elephant ugly, they

being created in those outward shapes and figures which best express those actions of their inward forms. And having passed that general visitation of God, who saw that all that he had made was good, that is, conformable to his will, which abhors deformity, and is the rule of order and beauty; there is no deformity but in monstrosity, wherein notwithstanding there is a kind of beauty. Nature so ingeniously contriving the irregular parts, as they become sometimes more remarkable than the principal fabric. To speak yet more narrowly, there was never anything ugly or mis-shapen but the chaos; wherein notwithstanding, to speak strictly, there was no deformity, because no form, nor was it yet impregnate by the voice of God. Now, nature is not at variance with art, nor art with nature; they being both servants of his providence. Art is the perfection of nature: were the world now as it was the sixth day, there were yet a chaos. Nature hath made one world, and art another. In brief, all things are artificial; for nature is the art of God.

SECT. XVII.

Providence is often falsely called Fortune.

This is the ordinary and open way of his providence, which art and industry have in a good part discovered, whose effects we may foretell without an oracle; to foreshow these is not prophecy, but prognostication. There is another way full of meanders and labyrinths, whereof the devil and spirits have no exact

ephemerides, and that is a more particular and obscure method of his providence, directing the operations of individuals and single essences : this we call fortune, that serpentine and crooked line, whereby he draws those actions his wisdom intends in a more unknown and secret way : this cryptic and involved method of his providence have I ever admired, nor can I relate the history of my life, the occurrences of my days, the escapes of dangers, and hits of chance, with a *Bezo las Manos* to fortune, or a bare gramercy to my good stars. Abraham might have thought the ram in the thicket came thither by accident ; human reason would have said that mere chance conveyed Moses in the ark to the sight of Pharaoh's daughter ; what a labyrinth is there in the story of Joseph, able to convert a stoic ! Surely there are in every man's life certain rubs, doublings, and wrenches, which pass awhile under the effects of chance, but at the last, well examined, prove the mere hand of God. It was not dumb chance that, to discover the fougade, or powder-plot, contrived a miscarriage in the letter. I like the victory of eighty-eight the better for that one occurrence which our enemies imputed to our dishonour, and the partiality of fortune, to wit, the tempests and contrariety of winds. King Philip did not detract from the nation, when he said, he sent his Armada to fight with men, and not to combat with the winds. Where

there is a manifest disproportion between the powers and forces of two several agents, upon a maxim of reason we may promise the victory to the superior; but when unexpected accidents slip in, and unthought-of occurrences intervene, these must proceed from a power that owes no obedience to those axioms; where, as in the writing upon the wall, we may behold the hand, but see not the spring that moves it. The success of that petty province of Holland (of which the grand seignor proudly said, if they should trouble him as they did the Spaniard, he would send his men with shovels and pickaxes, and throw it into the sea) I cannot altogether ascribe to the ingenuity and industry of the people, but the mercy of God, that hath disposed them to such a thriving genius; and to the will of his providence, that disposeth her favour to each country in their preordinate season. All cannot be happy at once; for because the glory of one state depends upon the ruin of another, there is a revolution and vicissitude of their greatness, and they must obey the swing of that wheel, not moved by intelligences, but by the hand of God, whereby all estates arise to their zenith and vertical points, according to their predestinated periods. For the lives, not only of men, but of commonwealths and the whole world, run not upon a helix that still enlargeth, but on a circle, where, arriving to their meridian, they decline in obscurity,

and fall under the horizon again.

SECT. XVIII.

The term Fortune is used in a relative sense. It is wrong to say Fortune is blind. It is we who are blind, not Fortune! There is equity in God's awards.

These must not therefore be named the effects of fortune, but in a relative way, and as we term the works of nature: it was the ignorance of man's reason that begat this very name, and by a careless term miscalled the Providence of God; for there is no liberty for causes to operate in a loose and straggling way, nor any effect whatsoever, but hath its warrant from some universal or superior cause. It is not a ridiculous devotion to say a prayer before a game at tables; for even in sortileges and matters of greatest uncertainty there is a settled and preordered course of effects. It is we that are blind, not Fortune: because our eye is too dim to discover the mystery of her effects, we foolishly paint her blind, and hoodwink the providence of the Almighty. I cannot justify that contemptible proverb, that fools only are fortunate; or that insolent paradox, that a wise man is out of the reach of fortune; much less those opprobrious epithets of poets, whore, bawd, and strumpet. It is, I confess, the common fate of men of singular gifts of mind, to be destitute of those of fortune; which doth not any way deject the spirit of wiser judgments, who thoroughly understand the justice of this proceeding, and being enriched with higher donatives, cast a more careless eye on these vulgar parts of felicity. It is a most unjust ambition to desire to engross the mercies of the Almighty; not to be content

with the goods of mind, without a possession of those of body or fortune: and it is an error worse than heresy, to adore these complimental and circumstantial pieces of felicity, and undervalue those perfections and essential points of happiness wherein we resemble our Maker. To wiser desires it is satisfaction enough to deserve, though not to enjoy, the favours of fortune; let Providence provide for fools. It is not partiality but equity in God, who deals with us but as our natural parents: those that are able of body and mind he leaves to their deserts; to those of weaker merits he imparts a larger portion, and pieces out the defect of one by the excess of the other. Thus have we no just quarrel with nature for leaving us naked; or to envy the horns, hoofs, skins, and furs of other creatures, being provided with reason, that can supply them all. We need not labour with so many arguments to confute judicial astrology; for if there be a truth therein, it doth not injure divinity. If to be born under Mercury disposeth us to be witty, under Jupiter to be wealthy, I do not owe a knee unto these, but unto that merciful hand that hath ordered my indifferent and uncertain nativity unto such benevolent aspects. Those that hold that all things are governed by fortune, had not erred had they not persisted there: the Romans that erected a temple to Fortune, acknowledged therein, though in a blinder way, somewhat of divinity; for in a

wise supputation all things begin and end in the Almighty. There is a nearer way to heaven than Homer's chain : an easy logic may conjoin heaven and earth in one argument, and with less than a sorites resolve all things into God. For though we christen effects by their most sensible and nearest causes, yet is God the true and infallible cause of all, whose concourse, though it be general, yet doth it subdivide itself into the particular actions of everything, and is that spirit by which each singular essence not only subsists, but performs its operation.

SECT. XIX.

The danger is to confound the First with second causes. The relation between Passion, Reason and Faith : they are in mutual conflict. Many of the doubts in Divinity really proceed from the devil.

The bad construction, and perverse comment on these pair of second causes, or visible hands of God, have perverted the devotion of many unto atheism ; who, forgetting the honest advisoes of faith, have listened unto the conspiracy of passion and reason. I have therefore always endeavoured to compose those feuds and angry dissensions between affection, faith, and reason ; for there is in our soul a kind of triumvirate, or triple government of three competitors, which distract the peace of this our commonwealth, not less than did that other the state of Rome.

As reason is a rebel unto faith, so passion unto reason : as the propositions of faith seem absurd unto reason, so the theorems of reason unto passion, and both unto faith ; yet a moderate and peaceable discretion may so state and order the matter, that they may be all

kings, and yet make but one monarchy, every-one exercising his sovereignty and prerogative in a due time and place, according to the restraint and limit of circumstance. There are, as in philosophy, so in divinity, sturdy doubts, and boisterous objections, wherewith the unhappiness of our knowledge too nearly acquainteth us. More of these no man hath known than myself, which I confess I conquered, not in a martial posture, but on my knees. For our endeavours are not only to combat with doubts, but always to dispute with the devil : the villainy of that spirit takes a hint of infidelity from our studies, and by demonstrating a naturality in one way, makes us mistrust a miracle in another. Thus having perused the archidoxes, and read the secret sympathies of things, he would dissuade my belief from the miracle of the brazen serpent, make me conceit that image worked by sympathy, and was but an Egyptian trick to cure their diseases without a miracle. Again, having seen some experiments of bitumen, and having read far more of naphtha, he whispered to my curiosity the fire of the altar might be natural ; and bid me mistrust a miracle in Elias when he entrenched the altar round with water; for that inflammable substance yields not easily unto water, but flames in the arms of its antagonist. And thus would he inveigle my belief to think the combustion of Sodom might be natural, and that there was an asphaltic and

bituminous nature in that lake before the fire of Gomorrah. I know that manna is now plentifully gathered in Calabria; and Josephus tells me, in his days it was as plentiful in Arabia; the devil therefore made the query, Where was then the miracle in the days of Moses? the Israelites saw but that in his time, the natives of those countries behold in ours. Thus the devil played at chess with me, and yielding a pawn, thought to gain a queen of me, taking advantage of my honest endeavours; and whilst I laboured to raise the structure of my reason, he strived to undermine the edifice of my faith.

SECT. XX.

Atheism can hardly exist. Even the Epicurean creed denying the Providence of God was no Atheism but a magnificent conceit of God.

Neither had these or any other ever such advantage of me, as to incline me to any point of infidelity or desperate positions of atheism; for I have been these many years of opinion there was never any. Those that held religion was the difference of man from beasts have spoken probably, and proceed upon a principle as inductive as the other. That doctrine of Epicurus, that denied the providence of God, was no atheism, but a magnificent and high-strained conceit of his majesty, which he deemed too sublime to mind the trivial actions of those inferior creatures. That fatal necessity of the Stoics, is nothing but the immutable law of his will. Those that heretofore denied the divinity of the Holy Ghost, have been condemned but as heretics; and those that now deny our Saviour (though more than heretics)

are not so much as atheists; for though they deny two persons in the Trinity, they hold, as we do, there is but one God.

That villain and secretary of hell, that composed that miscreant piece of the Three Impostors, though divided from all religions, and was neither Jew, Turk, nor Christian, was not a positive atheist. I confess every country hath its Machiavel, every age its Lucian, whereof common heads must not hear, nor advanced judgments too rashly venture on: it is the rhetoric of Satan, and may pervert a loose or prejudicate belief.

SECT. XXI.

There is inconsistency in Unbelief. They will believe in one thing and not in another, though both make the same demand on their Belief. Many questions and objections may be raised which are not worthy of solution.

I confess I have perused them all, and can discover nothing that may startle a discreet belief; yet are their heads carried off with the wind and breath of such motives. I remember a doctor in physic of Italy, who could not perfectly believe the immortality of the soul, because Galen seemed to make a doubt thereof. With another I was familiarly acquainted in France, a divine, and a man of singular parts, that on the same point was so plunged and gravelled with three lines of Seneca, that all our antidotes, drawn from both Scripture and philosophy, could not expel the poison of his error. There are a set of heads that can credit the relations of mariners, yet question the testimonies of St. Paul; and peremptorily maintain the traditions of Ælian or Pliny, yet in histories of Scripture raise queries and objections, believing no more than they can parallel in hu-

man authors. I confess there are in Scripture stories that do exceed the fables of poets, and to a captious reader sound like Gargantua or Bevis. Search all the legends of times past, and the fabulous conceits of these present, and it will be hard to find one that deserves to carry the buckler unto Sampson ; yet is all this of an easy possibility, if we conceive a divine concourse, or an influence from the little finger of the Almighty. It is impossible that either in the discourse of man, or in the infallible voice of God, to the weakness of our apprehensions there should not appear irregularities, contradictions, and antinomies : myself could show a catalogue of doubts, never yet imagined or questioned, as I know, which are not resolved at the first hearing ; not fantastic queries or objections of air ; for I cannot hear of atoms in divinity. I can read the history of the pigeon that was sent out of the ark, and returned no more, yet not question how she found out her mate that was left behind : that Lazarus was raised from the dead, yet not demand where in the interim his soul awaited ; or raise a law-case, whether his heir might lawfully detain his inheritance bequeathed unto him by his death, and he, though restored to life, have no plea or title unto his former possessions. Whether Eve was framed out of the left side of Adam, I dispute not ; because I stand not yet assured which is the right side of a man ; or whether there be any such distinction in nature. That

she was edified out of the rib of Adam, I believe, yet raise no question who shall arise with that rib at the resurrection. Whether Adam was an hermaphrodite, as the rabbins contend upon the letter of the text, because it is contrary to reason there should be an hermaphrodite before there was a woman ; or a composition of two natures, before there was a second composed. Likewise, whether the world was created in autumn, summer, or the spring, because it was created in them all; for whatsoever sign the sun possesseth, those four seasons are actually existent : it is the nature of this luminary to distinguish the several seasons of the year, all which it makes at one time in the whole earth, and successively in any part thereof. There are a bundle of curiosities, not only in philosophy, but in divinity, proposed and discussed by men of most supposed abilities, which indeed are not worthy our vacant hours, much less our serious studies. Pieces only fit to be placed in Pantagruel's library, or bound up with Tartaretus's *De Modo Cacandi.*

SECT. XXII.

Other questions which are often raised may be easily solved. Other questions yet may admit of a free dispute ; and there are yet other questions which are of little consequence.

These are niceties that become not those that peruse so serious a mystery : there are others more generally questioned and called to the bar, yet methinks of an easy and possible truth.

It is ridiculous to put off, or down, the general flood of Noah, in that particular inundation of Deucalion : that there was a deluge once, seems not to me so great a miracle

as that there is not one always. How all the kinds of creatures, not only in their own bulks, but with a competency of food and sustenance, might be preserved in one ark, and within the extent of three hundred cubits, to a reason that rightly examines it, will appear very feasible. There is another secret not contained in the Scripture, which is more hard to comprehend, and put the honest father to the refuge of a miracle : and that is, not only how the distinct pieces of the world, and divided islands, should be first planted by men, but inhabited by tigers, panthers, and bears. How America abounded with beasts of prey and noxious animals, yet contained not in it that necessary creature, a horse, is very strange. By what passage those, not only birds, but dangerous and unwelcome beasts came over : how there be creatures there, which are not found in this triple continent : all which must needs be strange unto us, that hold but one ark, and that the creatures began their progress from the mountains of Ararat. They who to solve this would make the deluge particular, proceed upon a principle that I can no way grant ; not only upon the negative of holy Scriptures, but of my own reason, whereby I can make it probable, that the world was as well peopled in the time of Noah as in ours ; and fifteen hundred years to people the world, as full a time for them, as four thousand years since have been to us. There are other assertions and common tenets drawn from Scripture,

and generally believed as Scripture, whereunto, notwithstanding, I would never betray the liberty of my reason. It is a paradox to me, that Methusalem was the longest lived of all the children of Adam, and no man will be able to prove it; when, from the process of the text, I can manifest it may be otherwise. That Judas perished by hanging himself, there is no certainty in Scripture: though in one place it seems to affirm it, and by a doubtful word hath given occasion to translate it; yet in another place, in a more punctual description, it makes it improbable, and seems to overthrow it. That our fathers, after the flood, erected the tower of Babel, to preserve themselves against a second deluge, is generally opinioned and believed, yet is there another intention of theirs expressed in Scripture. Besides, it is improbable, from the circumstance of the place, that is, a plain in the land of Shinar. These are no points of faith, and therefore may admit a free dispute. There are yet others, and those familiarly concluded from the text, wherein (under favour) I see no consequence: the church of Rome confidently proves the opinion of tutelary angels, from that answer when Peter knocked at the door; "It is not he, but his angel;" that is, might some say, his messenger, or somebody from him; for so the original signifies; and is as likely to be the doubtful phrase's meaning. This exposition I once suggested to a young

divine, that answered upon this point; to which I remember the Franciscan opponent replied no more; but that it was a new, and no authentic interpretation.

SECT. XXIII.

The Bible is the best of all books.

These are but the conclusions and fallible discourses of man upon the word of God; for such I do believe the holy Scriptures; yet were it of man, I could not choose but say, it was the singularest, and superlative piece that hath been extant since the creation: were I a pagan, I should not refrain the lecture of it; and cannot but commend the judgment of Ptolemy, that thought not his library complete without it. The Alcoran of the Turks (I speak without prejudice) is an ill-composed piece, containing in it vain and ridiculous errors in philosophy, impossibilities, fictions, and vanities beyond laughter, maintained by evident and open sophisms, the policy of ignorance, deposition of universities, and banishment of learning; that hath gotten foot by arms and violence: this, without a blow, hath disseminated itself through the whole earth. It is not unremarkable what Philo first observed, that the law of Moses continued two thousand years without the least alteration; whereas, we see the laws of other commonwealths do alter with occasions: and even those that pretend their original from some divinity, to have vanished without trace or memory. I believe, besides Zoroaster, there were divers that wrote before Moses, who, not-

withstanding, have suffered the common fate of time. Men's works have an age like themselves; and though they outlive their authors, yet have they a stint and period to their duration. This only is a work too hard for the teeth of time, and cannot perish but in the general flames, when all things shall confess their ashes.

SECT. XXIV.

Too many books are being written. There should be a Synod to reduce learning to a few solid authors.

I have heard some with deep sighs lament the lost lines of Cicero; others with as many groans deplore the combustion of the library of Alexandria. For my own part, I think there be too many in the world, and could with patience behold the urn and ashes of the Vatican, could I, with a few others, recover the perished leaves of Solomon. I would not omit a copy of Enoch's *Pillars,* had they many nearer authors than Josephus, or did not relish somewhat of the fable. Some men have written more than others have spoken. Pineda quotes more authors in one work, than are necessary in a whole world. Of those three great inventions in Germany, there are two which are not without their incommodities, and it is disputable whether they exceed not their use and commodities. It is not a melancholy *utinam* of my own, but the desires of better heads, that there were a general synod; not to unite the incompatible difference of religion, but for the benefit of learning, to reduce it as it lay at first, in a few and solid authors; and to condemn to the fire those swarms and millions of

rhapsodies, begotten only to distract and abuse the weaker judgments of scholars, and to maintain the trade and mystery of typographers.

SECT. XXV.

The Jews are obstinate in confining their belief to only a part of the Bible, and even among Christians there has been want of consistency. The blood of the Martyrs is the seed of the Church.

I cannot but wonder with what exception the Samaritans could confine their belief to the Pentateuch, or five books of Moses. I am ashamed at the rabbinical interpretation of the Jews, upon the Old Testament, as much as their defection from the New. And truly it is beyond wonder, how that contemptible and degenerate issue of Jacob, once so devoted to ethnic superstition, and so easily seduced to the idolatry of their neighbours, should now, in such an obstinate and peremptory belief, adhere unto their own doctrine, expect impossibilities, and in the face and eye of the church, persist without the least hope of conversion. This is a vice in them, that were a virtue in us ; for obstinacy in a bad cause is but constancy in a good. And herein I must accuse those of my own religion ; for there is not any of such a fugitive faith, such an unstable belief, as a Christian ; none that do so oft transform themselves, not unto several shapes of Christianity, and of the same species, but unto more unnatural and contrary forms, of Jew and Mahometan ; that from the name of saviour, can condescend to the bare term of prophet ; and from an old belief that he is come, fall to a new expectation of his coming. It is the promise of Christ to make us all one

flock; but how, and when this union shall be, is as obscure to me as the last day. Of those four members of religion, we hold a slender proportion; there are, I confess, some new additions, yet small to those which accrue to our adversaries, and those only drawn from the revolt of pagans, men but of negative impieties, and such as deny Christ, but because they never heard of him. But the religion of the Jews is expressly against the Christian; and the Mahometan against both. For the Turk, in the bulk he now stands, he is beyond all hope of conversion: if he fall asunder, there may be conceived hopes, but not without strong improbabilities. The Jew is obstinate in all fortunes; the persecution of fifteen hundred years hath but confirmed them in their error: they have already endured whatsoever may be inflicted, and have suffered, in a bad cause, even to the condemnation of their enemies. Persecution is a bad and indirect way to plant religion; it hath been the unhappy method of angry devotions, not only to confirm honest religion, but wicked heresies, and extravagant opinions. It was the first stone and basis of our faith; none can more justly boast of persecutions, and glory in the number and valour of martyrs; for, to speak properly, those are true, and almost only examples of fortitude. Those that are fetched from the field, or drawn from the action of the camp, are not oft-times so truly

precedents of valour as audacity, and at the best attain but to some bastard piece of fortitude. If we shall strictly examine the circumstances and requisites which Aristotle requires to true and perfect valour, we shall find the name only in his master, Alexander, and as little in that Roman worthy, Julius Cæsar; and if any, in that easy and active way, have done so nobly as to deserve that name, yet in the passive and more terrible piece these have surpassed, and in a more heroical way, may claim the honour of that title. It is not in the power of every honest faith to proceed thus far, or pass to heaven through the flames; every one hath it not in that full measure, or in so audacious and resolute a temper, as to endure those terrible tests and trials; who, notwithstanding, in a peaceable way do truly adore their Saviour, and have (no doubt) a faith acceptable in the eyes of God.

SECT. XXVI.

Not all are martyrs who suffer in matters of religion.

Now, as all that die in the war are not termed soldiers, so neither can I properly term all those that suffer in matters of religion, martyrs. The council of Constance condemns John Huss for a heretic: the stories of his own party style him a martyr. He must needs offend the divinity of both, that says he was neither the one nor the other. There are many (questionless) canonized on earth, that shall never be saints in heaven; and have their names in histories and martyrologies, who in the eyes of God are not so

perfect martyrs, as was that wise heathen, Socrates, that suffered on a fundamental point of religion, the unity of God. I have often pitied the miserable bishop that suffered in the cause of antipodes, yet cannot choose but accuse him of as much madness, for exposing his living on such a trifle, as those of ignorance and folly, that condemned him. I think my conscience will not give me the lie, if I say there are not many extant that in a noble way fear the face of death less than myself; yet from the moral duty I owe to the commandment of God, and the natural respects that I tender unto the conservation of my essence and being, I would not perish upon a ceremony, politic points, or indifferency. Nor is my belief of that untractable temper, as not to bow at their obstacles, or connive at matters wherein there are not manifest impieties. The leaven, therefore, and ferment of all, not only civil, but religious actions, is wisdom; without which, to commit ourselves to the flames is homicide, and (I fear) but to pass through one fire into another.

SECT. XXVII.

The author can neither prove nor deny the occurrence or cessation of miracles. All miracles are equally easy to God.

That miracles are ceased, I can neither prove, nor absolutely deny, much less define the time and period of their cessation. That they survived Christ, is manifest upon the record of Scripture: that they outlived the apostles also, and were revived at the conversion of nations, many years after, we cannot deny; if

we shall not question those writers whose testimonies we do not controvert, in points that make for our own opinions; therefore that may have some truth in it that is reported by the Jesuits of their miracles in the Indies: I could wish it were true, or had any other testimony than their own pens. They may easily believe those miracles abroad, who daily conceive a greater at home, the transmutation of those visible elements into the body and blood of our Saviour. For the conversion of water into wine, which he wrought in Cana, or what the devil would have had him do in the wilderness, of stones into bread, compared to this, will scarce deserve the name of a miracle. Though indeed, to speak properly, there is not one miracle greater than another, they being the extraordinary effects of the hand of God, to which all things are of an equal facility; and to create the world as easy as one single creature. For this is also a miracle, not only to produce effects against, or above nature, but before nature; and to create natu e as great a miracle as to contradict, or transcend her. We do too narrowly define the power of God, restraining it to our capacities. I hold that God can do all things; how he should work contradictions I do not understand, yet dare not therefore deny. I cannot see why the angel of God should question Esdras to recall the time past, if it were beyond his own power;

or that God should pose mortality in that which he was not able to perform himself. I will not say God cannot, but he will not perform many things, which we plainly affirm he cannot: this I am sure is the mannerliest proposition, wherein, notwithstanding, I hold no paradox. For strictly his power is the same with his will, and they both with all the rest do make but one God.

SECT. XXVIII.

All stories about miracles cannot be received alike.

Therefore, that miracles have been, I do believe; that they may yet be wrought by the living, I do not deny: but have no confidence in those which are fathered on the dead; and this hath ever made me suspect the efficacy of relics, to examine the bones, question the habits and appurtenances of saints, and even of Christ himself. I cannot conceive why the cross that Helena found, and whereon Christ himself died, should have power to restore others unto life. I excuse not Constantine from a fall off his horse, or a mischief from his enemies, upon the wearing those nails on his bridle, which our Saviour bore upon the cross in his hands. I compute among *piæ fraudes,* nor many degrees before consecrated swords and roses, that which Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, returned the Genoese for their cost and pains in his war, to wit, the ashes of John the Baptist. Those that hold the sanctity of their souls doth leave behind a tincture and sacred faculty on their bodies, speak naturally of miracles, and do not solve the doubt. Now

one reason I tender so little devotion unto relics is, I think, the slender and doubtful respect I have always held unto antiquities. For that indeed which I admire is far before antiquity, that is, eternity, and that is God himself; who, though he be styled the Ancient of Days, cannot receive the adjunct of antiquity, who was before the world, and shall be after it, yet is not older than it; for in his years there is no climacter; his duration is eternity and far more venerable than antiquity.

SECT. XXIX.

The cessation of oracles is itself a miracle. It is not proper to test the validity of Scripture by the authority of historians.

But above all things I wonder how the curiosity of wiser heads could pass that great and indisputable miracle, the cessation of oracles: and in what swoon their reasons lay, to content themselves, and sit down with such a far-fetched, and ridiculous reason as Plutarch allegeth for it. The Jews that can believe the supernatural solstice of the sun in the days of Joshua, have yet the impudence to deny the eclipse, which every pagan confessed, at his death: but for this, it is evident beyond all contradiction, the devil himself confessed it. Certainly it is not a warrantable curiosity to examine the verity of Scripture by the concordance of human history, or seek to confirm the chronicle of Hester or Daniel, by the authority of Megasthenes or Herodotus. I confess I have had an unhappy curiosity this way, till I laughed myself out of it with a piece of Justin, where he delivers

that the children of Israel, for being scabbed, were banished out of Egypt. And truly, since I have understood the occurrences of the world, and know in what counterfeit shapes and deceitful vizards times present represent on the stage things past, I do believe them little more than things to come. Some have been of my opinion, and endeavoured to write the history of their own lives; wherein Moses hath outgone them all, and left not only the story of his life, but as some will have it, of his death also.

SECT. XXX.

The author expresses his belief in witch-craft.

It is a riddle to me, how this story of oracles hath not wormed out of the world that doubtful conceit of spirits and witches; how so many learned heads should so far forget their metaphysics, and destroy the ladder and scale of creatures, as to question the existence of spirits: for my part, I have ever believed, and do now know, that there are witches. They that doubt of these, do not only deny them, but spirits; and are obliquely, and upon consequence a sort, not of infidels, but atheists. Those that, to confute their incredulity, desire to see apparitions, shall questionless never behold any, nor have the power to be so much as witches. The devil hath them already in a heresy as capital as witchcraft; and to appear to them, were but to convert them. Of all the delusions wherewith he deceives mortality, there is not any that puzzleth me more than the legerdemain of changelings. I do not

credit those transformations of reasonable creatures into beasts, or that the devil hath a power to transpeciate a man into a horse, who tempted Christ, (as a trial of his divinity,) to convert but stones into bread. I could believe that spirits use with man the act of carnality, and that in both sexes: I conceive they may assume, steal, or contrive a body wherein there may be action enough to content decrepit lust, or passion to satisfy more active veneries; yet in both, without a possibility of generation: and therefore that opinion that Antichrist should be born of the tribe of Dan, by conjunction with the devil, is ridiculous, and a conceit fitter for a rabbin than a Christian. I hold that the devil doth really possess some men, the spirit of melancholy others, the spirit of delusion others; that as the devil is concealed and denied by some, so God and good angels are pretended by others, whereof the late defection of the maid of Germany hath left a pregnant example.

SECT. XXXI.

At first a great part of philosophy was magic, but later on separated. We owe the discovery of many secrets to the discovery of good and bad angels.

Again, I believe that all that use sorceries, incantations, and spells are not witches, or, as we term them, magicians: I conceive there is a traditional magic, not learned immediately from the devil, but at second-hand from his scholars, who having once the secret betrayed, are able, and do empirically practise without his advice, they proceeding upon the principles of nature; where actives aptly conjoined to

disposed passives, will under any master produce their effects. Thus I think at first a part of philosophy was witchcraft, which being afterward derived to one another, proved but philosophy, and was indeed no more but the honest effects of nature. What invented by us is philosophy, learned from him is magic. We do surely owe the discovery of many secrets, to the discovery of good and bad angels. I could never pass that sentence of Paracelsus, without an asterisk, or annotation; *Ascendens constellatum multa revelat, quærentibus magnalia naturæ*, i.e. *opera Dei*. I do think that many mysteries ascribed to our own inventions, have been the courteous revelations of spirits; for those noble essences in heaven, bear a friendly regard unto their fellow-nature on earth; and therefore believe that those many prodigies and ominous prognostics, which forerun the ruins of states, princes, and private persons, are the charitable premonitions of good angels, which more careless enquiries term but the effects of chance and nature.

SECT. XXXII.

The Spirit of God is diffused throughout the world.

Now, besides these particular and divided spirits, there may be (for aught I know) an universal and common spirit to the whole world. It was the opinion of Plato, and it is yet of the Hermetical philosophers: if there be a common nature that unites and ties the scattered and divided individuals into one species, why may there not be one that unites

them all? However, I am sure there is a common spirit that plays within us, yet makes no part in us; and that is the Spirit of God, the fire and scintillation of that noble and mighty essence, which is the life and radical heat of spirits, and those essences that know not the virtue of the sun, a fire quite contrary to the fire of hell. This is that gentle heat that brooded on the waters, and in six days hatched the world; this is that irradiation that dispels the mists of hell, the clouds of horror, fear, sorrow, despair; and preserves the region of the mind in serenity. Whatsoever feels not the warm gale and gentle ventilation of this spirit, (though I feel his pulse), I dare not say he lives; for truly without this, to me there is no heat under the tropic; nor any light, though I dwelt in the body of the sun.

As when the labouring Sun hath wrought his
    track
Up to the top of lofty Cancer's back,
The icy ocean cracks, the frozen pole
Thaws with the heat of the celestial coal;
So when thy absent beams begin t' impart
Again a solstice on my frozen heart,
My winter's o'er, my drooping spirits sing,
And every part revives into a spring.
But if thy quickening beams awhile decline,
And with their light bless not this orb of mine,
A chilly frost surpriseth every member,
And in the midst of June I feel December.
Oh how this earthly temper doth debase,
The noble soul, in this her humble place!
Whose wingy nature ever doth aspire

To reach that place whence first it took its fire.
These flames I feel, which in my heart do dwell,
Are not thy beams, but take their fire from hell.
O quench them all! and let thy light divine,
Be as the sun to this poor orb of mine!
And to thy sacred Spirit convert those fires,
Whose earthly fumes choke my devout aspires!

SECT. XXXIII.

Besides there are guardian and attendant Spirits. There is a scale of creatures and Spirits rising from higher to lower in an orderly progression, and there is a similar progression between plants and animals.

Therefore, for spirits, I am so far from denying their existence, that I could easily believe, that not only whole countries, but particular persons have their tutelary and guardian angels: it is not a new opinion of the church of Rome, but an old one of Pythagoras and Plato; there is no heresy in it, and if not manifestly defined in Scripture, yet it is an opinion of a good and wholesome use in the course and actions of a man's life, and would serve as an hypothesis to salve many doubts, whereof common philosophy affordeth no solution. Now, if you demand my opinion and metaphysics of their natures, I confess them very shallow, most of them in a negative way, like that of God; or in a comparative, between ourselves and fellow-creatures; for there is in this universe a stair, or manifest scale of creatures, rising not disorderly, or in confusion, but with a comely method and proportion. Between creatures of mere existence and things of life, there is a large disproportion of nature; between plants and animals and creatures of sense, a wider difference; between them and man, a far greater: and if the proportion hold on, be-

tween man and angels there should be yet a greater. We do not comprehend their natures, who retain the first definition of Porphyry, and distinguish them from ourselves by immortality; for before his fall, it is thought man also was immortal; yet must we needs affirm that he had a different essence from the angels; having therefore no certain knowledge of their natures, it is no bad method of the schools, whatsoever perfection we find obscurely in ourselves, in a more complete and absolute way to ascribe unto them. I believe they have an extemporary knowledge, and upon the first motion of their reason do what we cannot without study or deliberation; that they know things by their forms, and define by specifical difference what we describe by accidents and properties; and therefore probabilities to us may be demonstrations unto them: that they have knowledge not only of the specifical, but numerical forms of individuals, and understand by what reserved difference each single hypostasis (besides the relation to its species) becomes its numerical self. That as the soul hath power to move the body it informs, so there is a faculty to move any, though inform none; ours upon restraint of time, place, and distance; but that invisible hand that conveyed Habakkuk to the lions' den, or Philip to Azotus, infringeth this rule, and hath a secret conveyance, wherewith mortality is not acquainted. If they

have that intuitive knowledge, whereby as in reflection they behold the thoughts of one another, I cannot peremptorily deny but they know a great part of ours. They that to refute the invocation of saints, have denied that they have any knowledge of our affairs below, have proceeded too far, and must pardon my opinion, till I can thoroughly answer that piece of Scripture, "At the conversion of a sinner the angels in heaven rejoice". I cannot with those in that great Father securely interpret the work of the first day, *fiat lux,* to the creation of angels, though I confess there is not any creature that hath so near a glimpse of their nature, as light in the sun and elements. We style it a bare accident, but where it subsists alone it is a spiritual substance, and may be an angel: in brief, conceive light invisible, and that is a spirit.

SECT. XXXIV.

Man is a microcosm, partaking of the nature of all created essences.

These are certainly the magisterial and masterpieces of the Creator, the flower, or (as we may say) the best part of nothing, actually existing, what we are but in hopes, and probability; we are only that amphibious piece between a corporeal and spiritual essence, that middle form that links those two together, and makes good the method of God and nature, that jumps not from extremes, but unites the incompatible distances by some middle and participating natures. That we are the breath and similitude of God, it is indis-

putable, and upon record of holy Scripture; but to call ourselves a microcosm, or little world, I thought it only a pleasant trope of rhetoric, till my near judgment and second thoughts told me there was a real truth therein: for first we are a rude mass, and in the rank of creatures, which only are, and have a dull kind of being not yet privileged with life, or preferred to sense or reason; next we live the life of plants, the life of animals, the life of men, and at last the life of spirits, running in one mysterious nature those five kinds of existences, which comprehend the creatures not only of the world, but of the universe, thus is man that great and true *amphibium*, whose nature is disposed to live not only like other creatures in divers elements, but in divided and distinguished worlds: for though there be but one to sense, there are two to reason; the one visible, the other invisible, whereof Moses seems to have left description, and of the other so obscurely, that some parts thereof are yet in controversy. And truly for the first chapters of Genesis, I must confess a great deal of obscurity; though divines have to the power of human reason endeavoured to make all go in a literal meaning, yet those allegorical interpretations are also probable, and perhaps the mystical method of Moses, bred up in the hieroglyphical schools of the Egyptians.

SECT. XXXV.

Angels can live anywhere. Creation is not for them. It is true in part that God made all things for Man. But the real truth is that God made the world for His own glory.

Now, for that immaterial world, methinks we need not wander so far as beyond the first moveable; for even in this material fabric the spirits walk as freely exempt from the affection of time, place and motion, as beyond the extremest circumference. Do but extract from the corpulency of bodies, or resolve things beyond their first matter, and you discover the habitation of angels; which if I call the ubiquitary and omnipresent essence of God, I hope I shall not offend divinity: for before the creation of the world God was really all things. For the angels he created no new world, or determinate mansion, and therefore they are everywhere where is his essence, and do live at a distance even in himself. That God made all things for man, is in some sense true, yet not so far as to subordinate the creation of those purer creatures unto ours, though as ministering spirits they do, and are willing to fulfil the will of God in these lower and sublunary affairs of man. God made all things for himself, and it is impossible he should make them for any other end than his own glory; it is all he can receive, and all that is without himself: for honour being an external adjunct, and in the honourer rather than in the person honoured, it was necessary to make a creature from whom he might receive his homage, and that is, in the other world, angels; in this, man: which when we neglect, we forget the very end of our crea-

tion, and may justly provoke God, not only to repent that he hath made the world, but that he hath sworn he would not destroy it. That there is but one world is a conclusion of faith. Aristotle, with all his philosophy, hath not been able to prove it, and, as weakly, that the world was eternal. That dispute much troubled the pen of the philosophers, but Moses decided that question, and all is salved with the new term of a creation, that is, a production of something out of nothing; and what is that? Whatsoever is opposite to something; or more exactly, that which is truly contrary unto God. For he only is, all others have an existence with dependency, and are something but by a distinction; and herein is Divinity conformant unto philosophy, and generation not only founded on contrarieties, but also creation; God being all things, is contrary unto nothing, out of which were made all things, and so nothing became something, and omneity informed nullity into an essence.

SECT. XXXVI.

Man is the master-piece of Creation.

The whole creation is a mystery, and particularly that of man. At the blast of His mouth were the rest of the creatures made, and at His bare word they started out of nothing: but in the frame of man (as the text describes it) he played the sensible operator, and seemed not so much to create, as make him. When he had separated the materials of other creatures, there consequently

resulted a form and soul; but having raised the walls of man, he was driven to a second and harder creation of a substance like himself, an incorruptible and immortal soul. For these two affections we have the philosophy and opinion of the heathens, the flat affirmative of Plato, and not a negative from Aristotle. There is another scruple cast in by Divinity (concerning its production) much disputed in the German auditories, and with that indifferency and equality of arguments, as leave the controversy undetermined. I am not of Paracelsus's mind, that boldly delivers a receipt to make a man without conjunction; yet cannot but wonder at the multitude of heads that do deny traduction, having no other argument to confirm their belief, than that rhetorical sentence, and antimetathesis of Augustine, *Creando infunditur, infundendo creatur.* Either opinion will consist well enough with religion; yet I should rather incline to this, did not one objection haunt me, not wrung from speculations and subtleties, but from common sense and observation; not picked from the leaves of any author, but bred amongst the weeds and tares of mine own brain. And this is a conclusion from the equivocal and monstrous productions in the copulation of a man with a beast; for if the soul of man be not transmitted, and transfused in the seed of the parents, why are not those productions merely beasts, but have also

an impression and tincture of reason in as high a measure as it can evidence itself in those improper organs? Nor truly can I peremptorily deny, that the soul in this, her sublunary estate, is wholly, and in all acceptions inorganical; but that, for the performance of her ordinary actions, there is required not only a symmetry and proper disposition of organs, but a crasis and temper correspondent to its operations. Yet is not this mass of flesh and visible structure the instrument and proper corps of the soul, but rather of sense, and that the hand of reason. In our study of anatomy there is a mass of mysterious philosophy, and such as reduced the very heathens to divinity; yet among all those rare discourses and curious pieces I find in the fabric of man, I do not so much content myself, as in that I find not there is no organ or instrument for the rational soul: for in the brain, which we term the seat of reason, there is not any thing of moment more than I can discover in the cranium of a beast: and this is a sensible and no inconsiderable argument of the inorganity of the soul, at least in that sense we usually so conceive it. Thus we are men, and we know not how; there is something in us that can be without us, and will be after us, though it is strange that it hath no history what it was before us, nor cannot tell how it entered in us.

SECT. XXXVII.

All flesh is grass. It perishes. Further in a sense we devour not only men, but ourselves. The author does not believe in the transmigration of the soul.

Now, for these walls of flesh, wherein the soul doth seem to be immured, before the resurrection, it is nothing but an elemental composition, and a fabric that must fall to ashes. "All flesh is grass", is not only metaphorically but literally true; for all those creatures we behold are but the herbs of the field, digested into flesh in them, or more remotely carnified in ourselves. Nay, further, we are what we all abhor, anthropophagi and cannibals, devourers not only of men, but of ourselves; and that not in an allegory, but a positive truth: for all this mass of flesh which we behold came in at our mouths; this frame we look upon hath been upon our trenchers; in brief, we have devoured ourselves. I cannot believe the wisdom of Pythagoras did ever positively, and in a literal sense, affirm his metempsychosis, or impossible transmigration of the souls of men into beasts. Of all the metamorphoses, or transmigrations, I believe only one, that is of Lot's wife; for that of Nebuchadnezzar proceeded not so far; in all others I conceive there is no further verity than is contained in their implicit sense and morality. I believe that the whole frame of a beast doth perish, and is left in the same state after death as before it was materialled unto life; that the souls of men know neither contrary nor corruption; that they subsist beyond the body, and outlive death by the privilege of their proper natures, and without

a miracle ; that the souls of the faithful, as they leave earth, take possession of heaven ; that those apparitions and ghosts of departed persons are not the wandering souls of men. but the unquiet walks of devils, prompting and suggesting us unto mischief, blood, and villainy, instilling and stealing into our hearts ; that the blessed spirits are not at rest in their graves, but wander solicitous of the affairs of the world ; but that those phantasms appear often, and do frequent cemeteries, charnel-houses, and churches, it is because those are the dormitories of the dead, where the devil, like an insolent champion, beholds with pride the spoils and trophies of his victory over Adam.

SECT. XXXVIII.

Death has no terrors for a Christian.

This is that dismal conquest we all deplore, that makes us so often cry, O Adam, *quid fecisti*? I thank God I have not those strait ligaments, or narrow obligations to the world, as to dote on life, or be convulsed and tremble at the name of death. Not that I am insensible of the dread and horror thereof, or by raking into the bowels of the deceased, continual sight of anatomies, skeletons, or cadaverous relics, like vespilloes, or grave-makers, I am become stupid, or have forgot the apprehension of mortality ; but that marshalling all the horrors, and contemplating the extremities thereof, I find not anything therein able to daunt the courage of a man, much less a well-resolved Christian. And therefore am

not angry at the error of our first parents, or unwilling to bear a part of this common fate, and like the best of them to die, that is, to cease to breathe, to take a farewell of the elements, to be a kind of nothing for a moment, to be within one instant of a spirit. When I take a full view and circle of myself, without this reasonable moderator and equal piece of justice, death, I do conceive myself the miserablest person extant. Were there not another life that I hope for, all the vanities of this world should not entreat a moment's breath for me; could the devil work my belief to imagine I could never die, I would not outlive that very thought; I have so abject a conceit of this common way of existence, this retaining to the sun and elements, I cannot think this is to be a man, or to live according to the dignity of humanity. In expectation of a better, I can with patience embrace this life, yet in my best meditations do often desire death. I honour any man that contemns it, nor can I highly love any that is afraid of it: this makes me naturally love a soldier, and honour those tattered and contemptible regiments that will die at the command of a sergeant. For a pagan there may be some motives to be in love with life; but for a Christian to be amazed at death, I see not how he can escape this dilemma, that he is too sensible of this life, or hopeless of the life to come.

SECT. XXXIX.

Man has three separate existences :—(1) in the womb, (2) in this world, (3) and in the next world.

Some divines count Adam thirty years old at his creation, because they suppose him created in the perfect age and stature of man. And surely we are all out of the computation of our age, and every man is some months older than he bethinks him ; for we live, move, have a being, and are subject to the actions of the elements, and the malice of diseases, in that other world, the truest microcosm, the womb of our mother. For besides that general and common existence we are conceived to hold in our chaos, and whilst we sleep within the bosom of our causes, we enjoy a being and life in three distinct worlds, wherein we receive most manifest graduations. In that obscure world and womb of our mother, our time is short, computed by the moon ; yet longer than the days of many creatures that behold the sun, ourselves being not yet without life, sense, and reason ; though for the manifestation of its actions, it awaits the opportunity of objects, and seems to live there but in its root and soul of vegetation. Entering afterwards upon the scene of the world, we arise up and become another creature, performing the reasonable actions of man, and obscurely manifesting that part of divinity in us, but not in complement and perfection till we have once more cast our secondine, that is, this slough of flesh, and are delivered into the last world, that is, that ineffable place of Paul, that proper *ubi* of

spirits. The smattering I have of the philosopher's stone (which is something more than the perfect exaltation of gold) hath taught me a great deal of divinity, and instructed my belief, how that immortal spirit, and incorruptible substance of my soul may lie obscure, and sleep awhile within this house of flesh. Those strange and mystical transmigrations that I have observed in silk-worms, turned my philosophy into divinity. There is in these works of nature, which seem to puzzle reason, something divine, and hath more in it than the eye of a common spectator doth discover.

SECT. XL.

Death is to be ashamed of rather than to be feared.

I am naturally bashful, nor hath conversation, age, or travel been able to effront or enharden me; yet I have one part of modesty which I have seldom discovered in another, that is, (to speak truly,) I am not so much afraid of death, as ashamed thereof. It is the very disgrace and ignominy of our natures, that in a moment can so disfigure us, that our nearest friends, wife and children stand afraid and start at us. The birds and beasts of the field, that before in a natural fear obeyed us, forgetting all allegiance, begin to prey upon us. This very conceit hath in a tempest disposed and left me willing to be swallowed up in the abyss of waters; wherein I had perished unseen, unpitied, without wondering eyes, tears of pity, lectures of mortality, and none had said, *Quantum*

mutatus ab illo! Not that I am ashamed of the anatomy of my parts, or can accuse nature for playing the bungler in any part of me, or my own vicious life for contracting any shameful disease upon me, whereby I might not call myself as wholesome a morsel for the worms as any.

SECT. XLI.

Posthumous fame is not to be desired. The author does not care for a monument or an epitaph.

Some, upon the courage of a fruitful issue, wherein, as in the truest chronicle, they seem to outlive themselves, can with greater patience away with death. This conceit and counterfeit subsisting in our progenies, seems to be a mere fallacy, unworthy the desires of a man, that can but conceive a thought of the next world; who, in a nobler ambition should desire to live in his substance in heaven, rather than his name and shadow in the earth. And therefore at my death I mean to take a total adieu of the world, not caring for a monument, history, or epitaph, not so much as the memory of my name to be found anywhere, but in the universal register of God. I am not yet so cynical, as to approve the testament of Diogenes, nor do I altogether allow that rhodomontade of Lucan;

—Cœlo tegiture, qui non habet urnam.
He that unburied lies wants not his hearse,
For unto him a tomb's universe;

but commend, in my calmer judgment, those ingenuous intentions that desire to sleep by the urns of their fathers, and strive to go the nearest way unto corruption. I do not envy

the temper of crows and daws, nor the numerous and weary days of our fathers before the flood. If there be any truth in astrology, I may outlive a jubilee. As yet I have not seen one revolution of Saturn, nor hath my pulse beat thirty years; and yet, excepting one, have seen the ashes, and left underground, all the kings of Europe; have been contemporary to three emperors, four grand signors, and as many popes. Methinks I have outlived myself, and begin to be weary of the sun; I have shaken hands with delight. In my warm blood and canicular days, I perceive I do anticipate the vices of age; the world to me is but a dream or mock show, and we all therein but pantaloons and antics, to my severer contemplations.

SECT. XLII.

Length of days is not worth praying for. Age merely increases our vices.

It is not, I confess, an unlawful prayer to desire to surpass the days of our Saviour, or wish to outlive that age wherein he thought fittest to die; yet if (as divinity affirms) there shall be no grey hairs in heaven, but all shall rise in the perfect state of men, we do but outlive those perfections in this world, to be recalled unto them by a greater miracle in the next, and run on here but to be retrograde hereafter. Were there any hopes to outlive vice, or a point to be superannuated from sin, it were worthy our knees to implore the days of Methuselah. But age doth not rectify, but incurvate our natures, turning bad dispositions into worser habits, and (like diseases)

bringing on incurable vices; for every day as we grow weaker in age, we grow stronger in sin; and the number of our days doth but make our sins innumerable. The same vice committed at sixteen, is not the same, though it agrees in all other circumstances, as at forty, but swells and doubles from that circumstance of our ages, wherein, besides the constant and inexcusable habit of transgressing, the maturity of our judgment cuts off pretence unto excuse or pardon; every sin the oftener it is committed, the more it acquireth in the quality of evil; as it succeeds in time, so it proceeds in degrees of badness; for as they proceed they ever multiply, and, like figures in arithmetic, the last stands for more than all that went before it. And though I think no man can live well once, but he that could live twice, yet for my own part I would not live over my hours past, or begin again the thread of my days: not upon Cicero's ground, because I have lived them well, but for fear I should live them worse. I find my growing judgment daily instruct me how to be better, but my untamed affections and confirmed vitiosity makes me daily do worse. I find in my confirmed age the same sins I discovered in my youth; I committed many then because I was a child, and because I commit them still, I am yet an infant. Therefore I perceive a man may be twice a child before the days of dotage, and stand in need

of Æson's bath before threescore.

SECT. XLIII.

A special Providence preserves our lives. Our ends are as obscure as our beginnings.

And truly there goes a great deal of providence to produce a man's life unto threescore; there is more required than an able temper for those years; though the radical humour contain in it sufficient oil for seventy, yet I perceive in some it gives no light past thirty: men assign not all the causes of long life, that write whole books thereof. They that found themselves on the radical balsam, or vital sulphur of the parts, determine not why Abel lived not so long as Adam. There is therefore a secret glome or bottom of our days; it was His wisdom to determine them, but his perpetual and waking providence that fulfils and accomplishes them; wherein the spirits, ourselves, and all the creatures of God in a secret and disputed way do execute his will. Let them not therefore complain of immaturity that die about thirty: they fall but like the whole world, whose solid and well-composed substance must not expect the duration and period of its constitution: when all things are completed in it, its age is accomplished; and the last and general fever may as naturally destroy it before six thousand, as me before forty. There is therefore some other hand that twines the thread of life than that of nature: we are not only ignorant in antipathies and occult qualities; our ends are as obscure as our beginnings; the line of our days is drawn by night, and the various effects

therein by a pencil that is invisible; wherein, though we confess our ignorance, I am sure we do not err if we say it is the hand of God.

SECT. XLIV.

Though death is to be desired, yet suicide is unlawful.

I am much taken with two verses of Lucan, since I have been able, not only as we do at school, to construe, but understand.

Victurosque Dei celant ut vivere durent,
Felix esse mori.

We're all deluded, vainly searching ways
To make us happy by the length of days;
For cunningly to make 's protract this breath,
The gods conceal the happiness of death.

There be many excellent strains in that poet, wherewith his stoical genius hath liberally supplied him: and truly there are singular pieces in the philosophy of Zeno, and doctrine of the stoics, which I perceive, delivered in a pulpit, pass for current divinity. Yet herein are they in extremes, that can allow a man to be his own assassin, and so highly extol the end and suicide of Cato; this is indeed not to fear death, but yet to be afraid of life. It is a brave act of valour to contemn death; but where life is more terrible than death, it is then the truest valour to dare to live; and herein religion hath taught us a noble example. For all the valiant acts of Curtius, Scævola, or Codrus, do not parallel or match that one of Job; and sure there is no torture to the rack of a disease, nor any poniards in death itself, like those in the way or prologue to it. *Emori nolo, sed me esse mortuum nihil*

curo; I would not die, but care not to be dead. Were I of Cæsar's religion, I should be of his desires, and wish rather to go off at one blow, than to be sawed in pieces by the grating torture of a disease. Men that look no further than their outsides, think health an appurtenance unto life, and quarrel with their constitutions for being sick; but I that have examined the parts of man, and know upon what tender filaments that fabric hangs, do wonder that we are not always so; and considering the thousand doors that lead to death, do thank my God that we can die but once. It is not only the mischief of diseases, and villainy of poisons, that make an end of us: we vainly accuse the fury of guns, and the new inventions of death; it is in the power of every hand to destroy us, and we are beholden unto every one we meet he doth not kill us. There is, therefore, but one comfort left, that though it be in the power of the weakest arm to take away life, it is not in the strongest to deprive us of death: God would not exempt himself from that, the misery of immortality in the flesh; he undertook not that was immortal. Certainly there is no happiness within this circle of flesh, nor is it in the optics of these eyes to behold felicity; the first day of our jubilee is death; the devil hath therefore failed of his desires; we are happier with death, than we should have been without it. There is no misery but

in himself, where there is no end of misery; and so indeed in his own sense, the stoic is in the right. He forgets that he can die who complains of misery; we are in the power of no calamity while death is in our own.

SECT. XLV.

Death is the gate-way through which we pass to immortality. The world itself will have an end.

Now, besides this literal and positive kind of death, there are others whereof divines make mention, and those I think, not merely metaphorical, as mortification, dying unto sin and the world: therefore, I say, every man hath a double horoscope, one of his humanity, his birth; another of his Christianity, his baptism, and from this do I compute or calculate my nativity; not reckoning those *horæ combustæ* and odd days, or esteeming myself anything, before I was my Saviour's, and enrolled in the register of Christ: whosoever enjoys not this life, I count him but an apparition, though he wear about him the sensible affections of flesh. In these moral acceptions, the way to be immortal is to die daily; nor can I think I have the true theory of death, when I contemplate a skull, or behold a skeleton with those vulgar imaginations it casts upon us; I have therefore enlarged that common *memento mori*, into a more Christian memorandum, *memento quatuor novissima*, those four inevitable points of us all, death, judgment, heaven, and hell. Neither did the contemplations of the heathens rest in their graves, without further thought of Rhadamanthos, or some judicial

proceeding after death, though in another way, and upon suggestion of their natural reasons. I cannot but marvel from what sibyl or oracle they stole the prophecy of the world's destruction by fire, or whence Lucan learned to say,

> Communis mundo superest rogus, ossibus astra
> Misturus.—

> There yet remains to th' world one common fire,
> Wherein our bones with stars shall make one
> pyre.

I believe the world grows near its end, yet is neither old nor decayed, nor shall ever perish upon the ruins of its own principles. As the work of creation was above nature, so its adversary annihilation; without which the world hath not its end, but its mutation. Now what force should be able to consume it thus far, without the breath of God, which is the truest consuming flame, my philosophy cannot inform me. Some believe there went not a minute to the world's creation, nor shall there go to its destruction: those six days so punctually described, make not to them one moment, but rather seem to manifest the method and idea of the great work of the intellect of God, than the manner how he proceeded in its operation. I cannot dream that there should be at the last day any such judicial proceeding, or calling to the bar, as indeed the Scripture seems to imply, and the literal commentators do conceive. For un-

speakable mysteries in the Scriptures are often delivered in a vulgar and illustrative way; and being written unto man, are delivered, not as they truly are, but as they may be understood; wherein, notwithstanding the different interpretations, according to different capacities, may stand firm with our devotion, nor be any way prejudicial to each single edification.

SECT. XLVI.

But to determine the time of this end of the world is mere madness.

Now, to determine the day and the year of this inevitable time, is not only convincible and statute madness, but also manifest impiety. How shall we interpret Elias's six thousand years, or imagine the secret communicated to a rabbi, which God hath denied unto his angels? It had been an excellent query to have posed the devil of Delphi, and must needs have forced him to some strange amphibology; it hath not only mocked the predictions of sundry astrologers in ages past, but the prophecies of many melancholy heads in these present, who neither understanding reasonably things past or present, pretend a knowledge of things to come; heads ordained only to manifest the incredible effects of melancholy, and to fulfil old prophecies, rather than be the authors of new. "In those days there shall come wars, and rumours of wars", to me seems no prophecy, but a constant truth, in all times verified since it was pronounced. "There shall be signs in the moon and stars"; how comes he then like

a thief in the night, when he gives an item of his coming? That common sign drawn from the revelation of Antichrist, is as obscure as any; in our common compute he hath been come these many years; but for my own part, to speak freely, I am half of opinion that Antichrist is the philosopher's stone in divinity; for the discovery and invention thereof, though there be prescribed rules, and probable inductions, yet hath hardly any man attained the perfect discovery thereof. That general opinion that the world grows near its end, hath possessed all ages past as nearly as ours; I am afraid that the souls that now depart, cannot escape that lingering expostulation of the saints under the altar, *Quousque Domine*, "How long, O Lord?" and groan in the expectation of that great jubilee.

SECT. XLVII.

Then will come the Day of Judgment, when God's mercy will shine. The author has faith in resurrection.

This is the day that must make good that great attribute of God, his justice; that must reconcile those unanswerable doubts that torment the wisest understandings, and reduce those seeming inequalities, and respective distributions in this world, to an equality and recompensive justice in the next. This is that one day that shall include and comprehend all that went before it; wherein, as in the last scene, all the actors must enter, to complete and make up the catastrophe of this great piece. This is the day whose memory hath only power to make us honest in the dark, and to be virtuous without a witness. *Ipsa sui pretium*

virtus sibi, that virtue is her own reward, is but a cold principle, and not able to maintain our variable resolutions, in a constant and settled way of goodness. I have practised that honest artifice of Seneca, and in my retired and solitary imaginations, to detain me from the foulness of vice, have fancied to myself the presence of my dear and worthiest friends, before whom I would lose my head, rather than be vicious; yet herein I found that there was nought but moral honesty, and this was not to be virtuous for His sake, who must reward us at the last. I have tried if I could reach that great resolution of his, to be honest without a thought of heaven or hell; and indeed I found, upon a natural inclination, and inbred loyalty unto virtue, that I could serve her without a livery; yet not in that resolved and venerable way, but that the frailty of my nature, upon easy temptation, might be induced to forget her. The life, therefore, and spirit of all our actions, is the resurrection, and a stable apprehension that our ashes shall enjoy the fruit of our pious endeavours; without this, all religion is a fallacy, and those impieties of Lucian, Euripides, and Julian, are no blasphemies, but subtle verities, and atheists have been the only philosophers.

SECT. XLVIII.

How the dead shall arise is no question of Faith. To believe only possibilities is not

How shall the dead arise is no question of my faith; to believe only possibilities is not faith, but mere philosophy. Many things are true in divinity, which are neither inducible by

Faith, but mere Philosophy. There are types of the Resurrection. Things will be restored to their former shape, just as an artist can recall to the life of art a plant or vegetable that is reduced to ashes.

reason, nor confirmable by sense ; and many things in philosophy confirmable by sense, yet not inducible by reason. Thus it is impossible, by any solid or demonstrative reasons, to persuade a man to believe the conversion of the needle to the north ; though this be possible and true, and easily credible, upon a single experiment unto the sense. I believe that our estranged and divided ashes shall unite again ; that our separated dust, after so many pilgrimages and transformations into the parts of minerals, plants, animals, elements, shall at the voice of God return into their primitive shapes, and join again to make up their primary and predestinate forms. As, at the creation, there was a separation of that confused mass into its pieces ; so at the destruction thereof there shall be a separation into its distinct individuals. As, at the creation of the world, all the distinct species that we behold lay involved in one mass, till the fruitful voice of God separated this united multitude into its several species : so at the last day, when those corrupted relics shall be scattered in the wilderness of forms, and seem to have forgot their proper habits, God, by a powerful voice, shall command them back into their proper shapes, and call them out by their single individuals : then shall appear the fertility of Adam, and the magic of that sperm that hath dilated into so many millions. I have often beheld as a miracle that artificial resurrection and revivi-

fication of mercury, how being mortified into a thousand shapes, it assumes again its own, and returns into its numerical self. Let us speak naturally, and like philosophers. The forms of alterable bodies in these sensible corruptions perish not; nor, as we imagine, wholly quit their mansions, but retire and contract themselves into their secret and unaccessible parts, where they may best protect themselves from the action of their antagonist. A plant or vegetable consumed to ashes to a contemplative and school-philosopher seems utterly destroyed, and the form to have taken his leave for ever: but to a sensible artist the forms are not perished, but withdrawn into their incombustible part, where they lie secure from the action of that devouring element. This is made good by experience, which can from the ashes of a plant revive the plant, and from its cinders recall it into its stalk and leaves again. What the art of man can do in these inferior pieces, what blasphemy is it to affirm the finger of God cannot do in those more perfect and sensible structures? This is that mystical philosophy from whence no true scholar becomes an atheist, but from the visible effects of nature grows up a real divine; and beholds, not in a dream, as Ezekiel, but in an ocular and visible object the types of his resurrection.

SECT. XLIX.

Heaven and Hell cannot be defined, though St. John

Now, the necessary mansions of our restored selves, are those two contrary and incompatible places we call heaven and hell; to define them,

has described Heaven. Wherever God will manifest Himself, there is Heaven.

or strictly to determine what and where these are surpasseth my divinity. That elegant apostle which seemed to have a glimpse of heaven, hath left but a negative description thereof: "which neither eye hath seen, nor ear hath heard, nor can enter into the heart of man": he was translated out of himself to behold it; but being returned into himself could not express it. St. John's description by emeralds, chrysolites, and precious stones, is too weak to express the material heaven we behold. Briefly, therefore, where the soul hath the full measure and complement of happiness; where the boundless appetite of that spirit remains completely satisfied, that it can neither desire addition nor alteration, that I think is truly heaven: and this can only be in the enjoyment of that essence, whose infinite goodness is able to terminate the desires of itself, and the insatiable wishes of ours; wherever God will thus manifest himself, there is heaven, though within the circle of this sensible world. Thus the soul of man may be in heaven anywhere, even within the limits of his own proper body; and when it ceaseth to live in the body it may remain in its own soul, that is, its Creator. And thus we may say that St. Paul, whether in the body, or out of the body, was yet in heaven. To place it in the empyreal, or beyond the tenth sphere, is to forget the world's destruction; for when this sensible world shall be destroyed, all shall then be here as it is now

there, an empyreal heaven, a *quasi* vacuity ; when to ask where heaven is, is to demand where the presence of God is, or where we have the glory of that happy vision. Moses, that was bred up in all the learning of the Egyptians, committed a gross absurdity in philosophy, when with these eyes of flesh he desired to see God, and petitioned his Maker, that is truth itself, to a contradiction. Those that imagine heaven and hell neighbours, and conceive a vicinity between those two extremes, upon consequence of the parable, where Dives discoursed with Lazarous in Abraham's bosom, do too grossly conceive of those glorified creatures, whose eyes shall easily outsee the sun, and behold without a perspective the extremest distances : for if there shall be in our glorified eyes the faculty of sight and reception of objects, I could think the visible species there to be in as unlimitable a way as now the intellectual. I grant that two bodies placed beyond the tenth sphere, or in a vacuity, according to Aristotle's philosophy, could not behold each other, because there wants a body or medium to hand and transport the visible rays of the object unto the sense ; but when there shall be a general defect of either medium to convey, or light to prepare and dispose that medium, and yet a perfect vision, we must suspend the rules of our philosophy, and make all good by a more absolute piece of optics.

SECT. L.

The author cannot tell why fire is the essence of Hell; nor can he tell about Purgatory, or how a flame can purify the substance of the Soul.

I cannot tell how to say that fire is the essence of hell. I know not what to make of purgatory, or conceive a flame that can either prey upon, or purify the substance of a soul: those flames of sulphur mentioned in the Scriptures, I take not to be understood of this present hell, but of that to come, where fire shall make up the complement of our tortures, and have a body or subject wherein to manifest its tyranny. Some who have had the honour to be textuary in divinity, are of opinion it shall be the same specifical fire with ours. This is hard to conceive, yet can I make good how even that may prey upon our bodies, and yet not consume us: for in this material world, there are bodies that persist invincible in the powerfullest flames; and though by the action of fire they fall into ignition and liquation, yet will they never suffer a destruction. I would gladly know how Moses, with an actual fire, calcined or burnt the golden calf into powder: for that mystical metal of gold, whose solary and celestial nature I admire, exposed unto the violence of fire, grows only hot and liquefies, but consumeth not: so when the consumable and volatile pieces of our bodies shall be refined into a more impregnable and fixed temper, like gold, though they suffer from the actions of flames, they shall never perish, but lie immortal in the arms of fire. And surely if this frame must suffer only by the action of this element, there will many bodies escape, and not only

heaven but earth will not be at an end, but rather a beginning. For at present it is not earth, but a composition of fire, water, earth, and air; but at that time, spoiled of these ingredients, it shall appear in a substance more like itself, its ashes. Philosophers that opinioned the world's destruction by fire, did never dream of annihilation, which is beyond the power of sublunary causes; for the last action of that element is but vitrification, or a reduction of a body into glass; and therefore some of our chemists facetiously affirm, that at the last fire all shall be crystallized and reverberated into glass, which is the utmost action of that element. Nor need we fear this term, annihilation, or wonder that God will destroy the works of his creation: for man subsisting, who is, and will then truly appear a microcosm, the world cannot be said to be destroyed. For the eyes of God, and perhaps also of our glorified selves, shall as really behold and contemplate the world in its epitome or contracted essence, as now it doth at large and in its dilated substance. In the seed of a plant, to the eyes of God, and to the understanding of man, there exists, though in an invisible way, the perfect leaves, flowers, and fruit thereof: (for things that are *in posse* to the sense, are actually existent to the understanding). Thus God beholds all things, who contemplates as fully his works in their epitome, as in their full volume; and beheld as amply the whole

world in that little compendium of the sixth day, as in the scattered and dilated pieces of those five before.

SECT. LI.

The heart of man is his own torment.

Men commonly set forth the torments of hell by fire, and the extremity of corporeal afflictions, and describe hell in the same method that Mahomet doth heaven. This indeed makes a noise, and drums in popular ears : but if this be the terrible piece thereof, it is not worthy to stand in diameter with heaven, whose happiness consists in that part that is best able to comprehend it, that immortal essence, that translated divinity and colony of God, the soul. Surely, though we place hell under earth, the devil's walk and purlieu is about it : men speak too popularly who place it in those flaming mountains, which to grosser apprehensions, represent hell. The heart of man is the place the devils dwell in : I feel sometimes a hell within myself ; Lucifer keeps his court in my breast ; Legion is revived in me. There are as many hells as Anaxagoras conceited worlds : there was more than one hell in Magdalene, when there were seven devils ; for every devil is a hell unto himself : he holds enough of torture in his own *ubi*, and needs not the misery of circumference to afflict him. And thus, a distracted conscience here is a shadow or introduction unto hell hereafter. Who can but pity the merciful intention of those hands that do destroy themselves ? The devil, were it in his power, would do the like ;

which being impossible, his miseries are endless, and he suffers most in that attribute wherein he is impassible—his immortality.

SECT. LII.

The author was never afraid of Hell and has fixed himself on the contemplation of Heaven.

I thank God that (with joy I mention it) I was never afraid of hell, nor never grew pale at the description of that place : I have so fixed my contemplations on heaven that I have almost forgot the idea of hell, and am afraid rather to lose the joys of the one, than endure the misery of the other—to be deprived of them is a perfect hell, and needs, methinks, no addition to complete our afflictions : that terrible term hath never detained me from sin, nor do I owe any good action to the name thereof. I fear God, yet am not afraid of him ; his mercies make me ashamed of my sins, before his judgments afraid thereof. These are the forced and secondary methods of his wisdom, which he useth but as the last remedy, and upon provocation ; a course rather to deter the wicked, than incite the virtuous to his worship. I can hardly think there was ever any scared into heaven : they go the fairest way to heaven that would serve God without a hell. Other mercenaries that crouch unto him, in fear of hell, though they term themselves the servants, are indeed but the slaves of the Almighty.

SECT. LIII.

All crosses and misfortunes are to be considered as proofs of God's affection.

And, to be true, and speak my soul, when I survey the occurrences of my life, and call into account the finger of God, I can perceive nothing but an abyss and mass of mercies,

either in general to mankind, or in particular to myself: and whether out of the prejudice of my affection, or an inverting and partial conceit of his mercies, I know not; but those which others term crosses, afflictions, judgments, misfortunes, to me, who inquire further into them than their visible effects, they both appear, and in event have ever proved the secret and dissembled favours of his affection. It is a singular piece of wisdom to apprehend truly, and without passion, the works of God; and so well to distinguish his justice from his mercy, as not to miscall those noble attributes: yet it is likewise an honest piece of logic, so to dispute and argue the proceedings of God, as to distinguish even his judgments into mercies. For God is merciful unto all, because better to the worst than the best deserve; and to say he punisheth none in this world, though it be a paradox, is no absurdity. To one that hath committed murder, if the judge should only ordain a fine, it were a madness to call this a punishment, and to repine at the sentence rather than admire the clemency of the judge. Thus our offences being mortal, and deserving not only death, but damnation; if the goodness of God be content to traverse and pass them over with a loss, misfortune, or disease, what frenzy were it to term this a punishment, rather than an extremity of mercy; and to groan under the rod of his judgments, rather than admire the sceptre of his mercies!

Therefore to adore, honour, and admire him is a debt of gratitude due from the obligation of our nature, states, and conditions; and with these thoughts, he that knows them best will not deny that I adore him. That I obtain heaven, and the bliss thereof, is accidental, and not the intended work of my devotion; it being a felicity I can neither think to deserve, nor scarce in modesty to expect. For those two ends of us all, either as rewards or punishments, are mercifully ordained and disproportionably disposed unto our actions; the one being so far beyond our deserts, the other so infinitely below our demerits.

SECT. LIV.

Salvation can come through Christ alone. But it is hard to place those Souls in Hell, whose worthy lives teach us virtue on Earth, though they lived before the incarnation of Christ.

There is no salvation to those that believe not in Christ, that is, say some, since his nativity, and as divinity affirmeth, before also; which makes me much apprehend the ends of those honest worthies and philosophers which died before his incarnation. It is hard to place those souls in hell whose worthy lives do teach us virtue on earth: methinks amongst those many subdivisions of hell, there might have been one limbo left for these. What a strange vision will it be to see their poetical fictions converted into verities, and their imagined and fancied furies into real devils! How strange to them will sound the history of Adam, when they shall suffer for him they never heard of! When they who derive their genealogy from the gods, shall know they are the unhappy issue of sinful man! It is an insolent part of

reason to controvert the works of God, or question the justice of his proceedings. Could humility teach others, as it hath instructed me, to contemplate the infinite and incomprehensible distance betwixt the Creator and the creature; or did we seriously perpend that one simile of St. Paul, "Shall the vessel say to the potter, Why hast thou made me thus?" it would prevent these arrogant disputes of reason, nor would we argue the definitive sentence of God, either to heaven, or hell. Men that live according to the right rule and law of reason, live but in their own kind, as beasts do in theirs; who justly obey the prescript of their natures, and therefore cannot reasonably demand a reward of their actions, as only obeying the natural dictates of their reason. It will therefore, and must at last appear, that all salvation is through Christ: which verity I fear these great examples of virtue must confirm, and make it good, how the perfectest actions of earth have no title or claim unto heaven.

SECT. LV.

Our practice is often inconsistent with our theory. Aristotle transgressed the rule of his own Ethics and the Stoics who condemned passion could not endure the colic. There is no royal road to virtue.

Nor truly do I think the lives of these, or of any other were ever correspondent, or in all points conformable unto their doctrines. It is evident that Aristotle transgressed the rule of his own ethics. The stoics that condemn passion, and command a man to laugh in Phalaris's bull, could not endure without a groan a fit of the stone or cholic. The sceptics, that affirmed they knew nothing, even in that

opinion confute themselves, and thought they knew more than all the world beside. Diogenes, I hold to be the most vain-glorious man of his time, and more ambitious in refusing all honours, than Alexander in rejecting none. Vice and the devil put a fallacy upon our reasons, and provoking us too hastily to run from it, entangle and profound us deeper in it. The Duke of Venice, that weds himself unto the sea by a ring of gold, I will not argue of prodigality, because it is a solemnity of good use and consequence in the state : but the philosopher that threw his money into the sea to avoid avarice, was a notorious prodigal. There is no road or ready way to virtue ; it is not an easy point of art to disentangle ourselves from this riddle or web of sin. To perfect virtue, as to religion, there is required a panoply or complete armour : that whilst we lie at close ward against one vice, we lie not open to the veney of another. And indeed wiser discretions, that have the thread of reason to conduct them, offend without pardon ; whereas, under-heads may stumble without dishonour. There go so many circumstances to piece up one good action, that it is a lesson to be good, and we are forced to be virtuous by the book. Again, the practice of men holds not an equal pace, yea, and often runs counter to their theory ; we naturally know what is good, but naturally pursue what is evil : the rhetoric wherewith I persuade another cannot persuade

Perfect virtue requires a panoply of armour. We are all monsters, a composition of Man and Beast. The author wishes *all* to have salvation, but knows that *few* shall have it.

myself; there is a depraved appetite in us, that will with patience hear the learned instructions of reason, but yet perform no further than agrees to its own irregular humour. In brief, we all are monsters, that is, a composition of man and beast; wherein we must endeavour to be as the poets fancy that wise man Chiron, that is to have the region of man above that of beast, and sense to sit but at the feet of reason. Lastly, I do desire with God, that all, but yet affirm with men, that few shall know salvation; that the bridge is narrow, the passage strait unto life: yet those who do confine the church of God, either to particular nations, churches, or families, have made it far narrower than our Saviour ever meant it.

SECT. LVI.

The Church of God is not circumscribed. It is not restricted to Europe. A sectarian spirit is hostile to charity.

The vulgarity of those judgments that wrap the church of God in Strabo's cloak, and restrain it unto Europe, seem to me as bad geographers as Alexander, who thought he had conquered all the world, when he had not subdued the half of any part thereof. For we cannot deny the church of God both in Asia and Africa, if we do not forget the peregrinations of the apostles, the deaths of the martyrs, the sessions of many, and, even in our reformed judgment, lawful councils, held in those parts in the minority and nonage of ours. Nor must a few differences, more remarkable in the eyes of man than perhaps in the judgment of God, excommunicate from heaven one another, much

less those Christians who are in a manner all martyrs, maintaining their faith, in the noble way of persecution, and serving God in the fire, whereas we honour him in the sunshine. It is true we all hold there is a number of elect, and many to be saved ; yet take our opinions together, and from the confusion thereof there will be no such thing as salvation, nor shall any one be saved. For first, the church of Rome condemneth us, we likewise them ; the sub-reformists and sectaries sentence the doctrine of our church as damnable ; the atomist, or familist, reprobates all these ; and all these them again. Thus, whilst the mercies of God do promise us heaven, our conceits and opinions exclude us from that place. There must be therefore more than one St. Peter. Particular churches and sects usurp the gates of heaven, and turn the key against each other : and thus we go to heaven against each other's wills, conceits, and opinions, and, with as much uncharity as ignorance, do err, I fear, in points not only of our own, but one another's salvation.

SECT. LVII.

Judge not, that ye be not judged. We need not define either God's Justice or His Mercy.

I believe many are saved, who to man seem reprobated ; and many are reprobated, who in the opinion and sentence of man stand elected. There will appear at the last day strange and unexpected examples, both of his justice and his mercy ; and therefore to define either is folly in man, and insolency even in the devils. Those acute and subtle spirits, in all their

sagacity, can hardly divine who shall be saved; which if they could prognosticate, their labour were at an end; nor need they compass the earth, seeking whom they may devour. Those who, upon a rigid application of the law, sentence Solomon unto demnation, condemn not only him but themselves, and the whole world; for by the letter, and written word of God, we are, without exception, in the state of death; but there is a prerogative of God, and an arbitrary pleasure above the letter of his own law, by which alone we can pretend unto salvation, and through which Solomon might be as easily saved as those who condemn him.

SECT. LVIII.

But few will be saved, of those that think to pass through the eye of the needle. And the author hopes that of those that enter Heaven, he will at least be the rearmost man.

The number of those who pretend unto salvation, and those infinite swarms who think to pass through the eye of this needle, have much amazed me. That name and compellation of "little flock", doth not comfort but deject my devotion, especially when I reflect upon mine own unworthiness, wherein, according to my humble apprehensions, I am below them all. I believe there shall never be an anarchy in heaven; but as there are hierarchies amongst the angels, so shall there be degrees of priority amongst the saints. Yet it is, I protest, beyond my ambition to aspire unto the first ranks; my desires only are, and I shall be happy therein, to be but the last man, and bring up the rear in heaven.

SECT. LIX.

All our hope of

Again, I am confident, and fully persuaded, yet dare not take my oath, of my salvation. I

am as it were sure, and do believe without all doubt, that there is such a city as Constantinople; yet for me to take my oath thereon were a kind of perjury, because I hold no infallible warrant from my own sense to confirm me in the certainty thereof. And truly, though many pretend an absolute certainty of their salvation, yet when a humble soul shall contemplate our own unworthiness, she shall meet with many doubts, and suddenly find how little we stand in need of the precept of St. Paul, "Work out your salvation with fear and trembling". That which is the cause of my election, I hold to be the cause of my salvation, which was the mercy and beneplacet of God, before I was, or the foundation of the world. "Before Abraham was, I am", is the saying of Christ; yet is it true in some sense, if I say it of myself; for I was not only before myself, but Adam, that is, in the idea of God, and the decree of that synod held from all eternity. And in this sense, I say, the world was before the creation, and at the end before it had a beginning; and thus was I dead before I was alive; though my grave be England, my dying place was paradise: and Eve miscarried of me before she conceived of Cain.

salvation lies in God's Mercy.

SECT. LX.

Zealots who decry Good Works and rely only upon Faith do not

Insolent zeals that do decry good works, and rely only upon faith, take not away merit; for depending upon the efficacy of their faith, they enforce the condition of God, and in a more

take away merit. True Faith is certainly a means of our salvation, but where to find it is obscure. Our Faith is as nothing compared to that of Christ's Disciples.

sophistical way do seem to challenge heaven. It was decreed by God, that only those that lapped in the water like dogs should have the honour to destroy the Midianites; yet could none of those justly challenge or imagine he deserved that honour thereupon. I do not deny but that true faith, and such as God requires, is not only a mark or token, but also a means of our salvation; but where to find this is as obscure to me as my last end. And if our Saviour could object unto his own disciples and favourites, a faith that, to the quantity of a grain of mustard-seed, is able to remove mountains, surely that which we boast of is not anything, or at the most but a remove from nothing. This is the tenor of my belief; wherein, though there be many things singular, and to the humour of my irregular self, yet if they square not with maturer judgments I disclaim them, and do no further favour them, than the learned and best judgments shall authorize them.

PART II

Now for that other virtue of charity, without which faith is a mere notion, and of no existence. I have ever endeavoured to nourish the merciful disposition and humane inclination I borrowed from my parents, and regulate it to the written and prescribed laws of charity; and if I hold the true anatomy of myself, I am delineated and naturally framed to such a piece of virtue. For I am of a constitution so general that it comports and sympathizeth with all things; I have no antipathy, or rather idiosyncrasy, in diet, humour, air, anything. I wonder not at the French for their dishes of frogs, snails, and toad-stools; nor at the Jews for locusts and grasshoppers; but being amongst them, make them my common viands; and I find them agree with my stomach as well as theirs. I could digest a salad gathered in a churchyard as well as in a garden. I cannot start at the presence of a serpent, scorpion, lizard, or salamander: at the sight of a toad or viper I find in me no desire to take up a stone to destroy them. I feel not in myself those common antipathies that I can discover in others. Those national repugnances do not touch me, nor do I behold with prejudice the French, Italian, Spaniard, and Dutch; but where I find their actions in balance with my

SECT. I.

The Virtue of Charity. Without Charity, Faith has little value. The author claims to sympathise with all things, all men, all nations.

infirmities, and their purses compound for their follies. But as in casting account, three or four men together come short in account of one man placed by himself below them; so neither are a troop of these ignorant Doradoes, of that true esteem and value as many a forlorn person, whose condition doth place him below their feet. Let us speak like politicians, there is a nobility without heraldry, a natural dignity, whereby one man is ranked with another; another filed before him, according to the quality of his desert and pre-eminence of his good parts, though the corruption of these times and the bias of present practice wheel another way. Thus it was in the first and primitive commonwealths, and is yet in the integrity and cradle of well-ordered polities, till corruption getteth ground, ruder desires labouring after that which wiser considerations contemn; every one having a liberty to amass and heap up riches, and they a license or faculty to do or purchase anything.

SECT. II.

Charity must spring from a proper motive. The author gives alms not only to satisfy the hunger of his brother, but to fulfil the will and command of his God. The nature of created beings is signified in their outward

This general and indifferent temper of mine doth more nearly dispose me to this noble virtue. It is a happiness to be born and framed unto virtue, and to grow up from the seeds of nature, rather than the inoculation and forced graffs of educatiōn: yet if we are directed only by our particular natures, and regulate our inclinations by no higher rule than that of our reasons, we are but moralists; divinity will still call us heathens, therefore

forms. The finger of God has left an inscription upon all His works. The truly charitable man can be seen from his physiognomy and from certain mystical figures in the hands, interpreted by the Science of chiromancy. It is a wonder that among the many millions of faces, no two should be alike. There is great variety of outward forms in nature.

this great work of charity must have other motives, ends and impulsions. I give no alms only to satisfy the hunger of my brother, but to fulfil and accomplish the will and command of my God; I draw not my purse for his sake that demands it, but his that enjoined it; I relieve no man upon the rhetoric of his miseries, nor to content mine own commiserating disposition: for this is still but moral charity, and an act that oweth more to passion than reason. He that relieves another upon the bare suggestion and bowels of pity, doth not this so much for his sake as for his own; for by compassion we make others' misery our own, and so by relieving them we relieve ourselves also. It is as erroneous a conceit to redress other men's misfortunes upon the common considerations of merciful natures, that it may be one day our own case; for this is a sinister and politic kind of charity, whereby we seem to bespeak the pities of men in the like occasions; and truly I have observed that those professed eleemosynaries, though in a crowd or multitude, do yet direct and place their petitions on a few and selected persons: there is surely a physiognomy, which those experienced and master mendicants observe, whereby they instantly discover a merciful aspect, and will single out a face wherein they spy the signatures and marks of mercy; for there are mystically in our faces certain characters which carry in them the motto of our souls, wherein

he that can read A B C may read our natures. I hold, moreover, that there is a phytognomy, or physiognomy, not only of men, but of plants and vegetables, and in every one of them some outward figures which hang as signs or bushes of their inward forms. The finger of God hath left an inscription upon all his works, not graphical, or composed of letters, but of their several forms, constitutions, parts, and operations, which aptly joined together do make one word that doth express their natures. By these letters God calls the stars by their names; and by this alphabet Adam assigned to every creature a name peculiar to its nature. Now there are, besides these characters in our faces, certain mystical figures in our hands, which I dare not call mere dashes, strokes *à la volée*, or at random, because delineated by a pencil that never works in vain; and hereof I take more particular notice, because I carry that in mine own hand which I could never read of nor discover in another. Aristotle, I confess, in his acute and singular book of physiognomy, hath made no mention of chiromancy; yet I believe the Egyptians, who were nearer addicted to these abstruse and mystical sciences, had a knowledge therein; to which those vagabond and counterfeit Egyptians did after pretend, and perhaps retained a few corrupted principles, which sometimes might verify their prognostics.

It is the common wonder of all men, how among so many millions of faces there should be none alike; now, contrary, I wonder as much how there should be any. He that shall consider how many thousand several words have been carelessly and without study composed out of twenty-four letters; withal, how many hundred lines there are to be drawn in the fabric of one man, shall easily find that this variety is necessary: and it will be very hard that they shall so concur, as to make one portrait like another. Let a painter carelessly limn out a million of faces, and you shall find them all different; yea, let him have his copy before him, yet after all his art there will remain a sensible distinction; for the pattern or example of everything is the perfectest in that kind, whereof we still come short, though we transcend or go beyond it, because herein it is wide, and agrees not in all points unto the copy. Nor doth the similitude of creatures disparage the variety of nature, nor any way confound the works of God. For even in things alike there is diversity, and those that do seem to accord do manifestly disagree. And thus is man like God; for in the same things that we resemble him, we are utterly different from him. There was never anything so like another as in all points to concur; there will ever some reserved difference slip in to prevent the identity, without which two several things would not be alike, but the

same, which is impossible.

SECT. III.

The Souls of our fellow-creatures are as much the object of Charity as their bodies. The duty of the Scholar is to impart knowledge. There should be no monopoly, but a community in learning. Debates in philosophy and divinity, provided they are peacefully conducted, do not infringe the laws of Charity.

But to return from philosophy to charity : I hold not so narrow a conceit of this virtue as to conceive that to give alms is only to be charitable, or think a piece of liberality can comprehend the total of charity. Divinity hath wisely divided the acts thereof into many branches, and hath taught us in this narrow way many paths unto goodness : as many ways as we may do good, so many ways we may be charitable ; there are infirmities, not only of body but of soul and fortunes, which do require the merciful hand of our abilities. I cannot contemn a man for ignorance, but behold him with as much pity as I do Lazarus. It is no greater charity to clothe his body, than apparel the nakedness of his soul. It is an honourable object to see the reasons of other men wear our liveries, and their borrowed understandings do homage to the bounty of ours. It is the cheapest way of beneficence, and like the natural charity of the sun, illuminates another without obscuring itself. To be reserved and caitiff in this part of goodness is the sordidest piece of covetousness, and more contemptible than pecuniary avarice. To this (as calling myself a scholar) I am obliged by the duty of my condition : I make not, therefore, my head, a grave, but a treasure of knowledge ; I intend no monopoly, but a community in learning ; I study not for my own sake only, but for theirs that study not for themselves.

I envy no man that knows more than myself, but pity them that know less. I instruct no man as an exercise of my knowledge, or with an intent rather to nourish and keep it alive in mine own head, than beget and propagate it in his; and in the midst of all my endeavours there is but one thought that dejects me, that my acquired parts must perish with myself, nor can be legacied among my honoured friends. I cannot fall out, or contemn a man for an error, or conceive why a difference in opinion should divide an affection; for controversies, disputes, and argumentations, both in philosophy and in divinity, if they meet with discreet and peaceable natures, do not infringe the laws of charity: in all disputes, so much as there is of passion, so much there is of nothing to the purpose; for then reason, like a bad hound, spends upon a false scent, and forsakes the question first started. And this is one reason why controversies are never determined; for though they be amply proposed, they are scarce at all handled, they do so swell with unnecessary digressions; and the parenthesis on the party is often as large as the main discourse upon the subject. The foundations of religion are already established, and the principles of salvation subscribed unto by all; there remain not many controversies worth a passion, and yet never any disputed without, not only in divinity, but inferior arts: what a *βατραχομυομαχία* and hot skirmish is betwixt

S. and T. in Lucian; how do grammarians hack and slash for the genitive case in Jupiter! How do they break their own pates to salve that of Priscian! *Si foret in terris, rideret Democritus.* Yea, even amongst wiser militants, how many wounds have been given, and credits slain, for the poor victory of an opinion, or beggarly conquest of a distinction! Scholars are men of peace, they bear no arms, but their tongues are sharper than Actius's razor; their pens carry further, and give a louder report than thunder: I had rather stand the shock of a basilisco, than the fury of a merciless pen. It is not mere zeal to learning, or devotion to the muses, that wiser princes patronize the arts and carry an indulgent aspect unto scholars: but a desire to have their names eternized by the memory of their writings, and a fear of the revengeful pen of succeeding ages: for these are the men, that when they have played their parts, and had their exits, must step out and give the moral of their scenes, and deliver unto posterity an inventory of their virtues and vices. And surely there goes a great deal of conscience to the compiling of a history: there is no reproach to the scandal of a story; it is such an authentic kind of falsehood, that with authority belies our good names to all nations and posterity.

SECT. IV.

International want of Charity. The different nations

There is another offence unto charity, which no author hath ever written of, and few take notice of; and that is the reproach, not of

call each other names. Thus at one word, we wound a thousand. No man can justly censure another. Men are most ignorant in their knowledge of themselves.

whole professions, mysteries, and conditions, but of whole nations; wherein by opprobrious epithets we miscall each other, and by uncharitable logic, from a disposition in a few, conclude a habit in all.

> Le mutin Anglois, et le bravache Ecossois;
> Le bougre Italien, et le fol François;
> Le poltron Romain, le larron de Gascogne,
> L'Espagnol superbe, et l'Alleman yvrogne.

St. Paul, that calls the Cretans liars, doth it but indirectly, and upon quotation of their own poet. It is as bloody a thought in one way as Nero's was in another. For by a word we wound a thousand, and at one blow assassinate the honour of a nation. It is as complete a piece of madness to miscall and rave against the times, or think to recall men to reason by a fit of passion. Democritus, that thought to laugh the times into goodness, seems to me as deeply hypochondriac, as Heraclitus that bewailed them. It moves not my spleen to behold the multitude in their proper humours, that is, in their fits of folly and madness, as well understanding that wisdom is not profaned unto the world, and it is the privilege of a few to be virtuous. They that endeavour to abolish vice destroy also virtue, for contraries, though they destroy one another, are yet in life of one another. Thus virtue (abolish vice) is an idea: again, the community of sin doth not disparage goodness: for when vice gains upon the major part, virtue, in whom it remains, becomes more

excellent: and being lost in some, multiplies its goodness in others, which remain untouched, and persist entire in the general inundation. I can therefore behold vice without a satire, content only with an admonition, or instructive reprehension; for noble natures, and such as are capable of goodness, are railed into vice, that might as easily be admonished into virtues; and we should be all so far the orators of goodness as to protect her from the power of vice, and maintain the cause of injured truth. No man can justly censure or condemn another, because indeed no man truly knows another. This I perceive in myself; for I am in the dark to all the world, and my nearest friends behold me but in a cloud: those that know me but superficially, think less of me than I do of myself; those of my near acquaintance think more. God, who truly knows me, knows that I am nothing; for he only beholds me, and all the world; who looks not on us through a derived ray, or a trajection of a sensible species, but beholds the substance without the helps of accidents, and the forms of things, as we their operations. Further no man can judge another, because no man knows himself; for we censure others but as they disagree from that humour which we fancy laudable in ourselves, and commend others but for that wherein they seem to quadrate and consent with us. So that in conclusion, all is but that we all condemn, self-love. It is the general complaint of these

times, and perhaps of those past, that charity grows cold; which I perceive most verified in those which most do manifest the fires and flames of zeal; for it is a virtue that best agrees with coldest natures, and such as are complexioned for humility. But how shall we expect charity towards others, when we are uncharitable to ourselves? Charity begins at home, is the voice of the world; yet is every man his greatest enemy, and, as it were, his own executioner. *Non occides* is the commandment of God, yet scarce observed by any man; for I perceive every man is his own Atropos, and lends a hand to cut the thread of his own days. Cain was not therefore the first murderer, but Adam, who brought in death; whereof he beheld the practice and example in his own son Abel, and saw that verified in the experience of another, which faith could not persuade him in the theory of himself.

SECT. V.

The author claims for himself great sympathy with the miseries of others. It is barbarous to add to the misery of those afflicted. Sympathy is an act of Charity. It can achieve much. It can divide a sorrow almost out of itself until it became, if not indivisible, at least

There is, I think, no man that apprehends his own miseries less than myself, and no man that so nearly apprehends another's. I could lose an arm without a tear, and with few groans, methinks, be quartered into pieces; yet can I weep most seriously at a play, and receive with true passion the counterfeit grief of those known and professed impostures. It is a barbarous part of inhumanity to add unto any afflicted party's misery, or endeavour to multiply in any man a passion whose single nature is already above his patience: this was the

greatest affliction of Job; and those oblique expostulations of his friends, a deeper injury than the downright blows of the devil. It is not the tears of our own eyes only, but of our friends also, that do exhaust the current of our sorrows; which falling into many streams, runs more peaceably, and is contented with a narrower channel. It is an act within the power of charity to translate a passion out of one breast into another, and to divide a sorrow almost out of itself; for an affliction, like a dimension, may be so divided, as if not invisible, at least to become insensible. Now, with my friend I desire not to share or participate, but to engross his sorrows, that by making them mine own, I may more easily discuss them; for in mine own reason, and within myself, I can command that which I cannot entreat without myself, and within the circle of another. I have often thought those noble pairs and examples of friendship not so truly histories of what had been, as fictions of what should be; but I now perceive nothing in them but possibilities, nor anything in the heroic examples of Damon and Pythias, Achilles and Patroclus, which methinks upon some grounds I could not perform within the narrow compass of myself. That a man should lay down his life for his friend seems strange to vulgar affections, and such as confine themselves within that worldly principle, Charity begins at home. For my own part, I could never remember the rela-

insensible. It is a vulgar precept which tells us that "Charity begins at home."

tions that I hold unto myself, nor the respect that I owe unto my own nature, in the cause of God, my country, and my friends. Next to these three I do embrace myself : I confess I do not observe that order that the schools ordain our affections, to love our parents, wives, children, and then our friends ; for excepting the injunctions of religion, I do not find in myself such a necessary and indissoluble sympathy to all those of my blood. I hope I do not break the fifth commandment, if I conceive I may love my friend before the nearest of my blood, even those to whom I owe the principles of life. I never yet cast a true affection on a woman, but I have loved my friend as I do virtue, my soul, my God. From hence methinks I do conceive how God loves man, what happiness there is in the love of God. Omitting all other, there are three most mystical unions ; two natures in one person ; three persons in one nature ; one soul in two bodies. For though, indeed, they be really divided, yet are they so united, as they seem but one, and make rather a duality than two distinct souls.

SECT. VI.

True affection is a mystery. In this the two become as one and in becoming as one, they become two. We cannot pray for ourselves, without praying for our friends.

There are wonders in true affection ; it is a body of enigmas, mysteries, and riddles ; wherein two so become one, as they both become two. I love my friend before myself, and yet methinks I do not love him enough. Some few months hence, my multiplied affection will make me believe I have not loved him at all : when I am from him, I am dead till I

be with him; when I am with him, I am not satisfied, but would still be nearer him. United souls are not satisfied with embraces, but desire to be truly each other; which being impossible, their desires are infinite, and proceed without a possibility of satisfaction. Another misery there is in affection, that whom we truly love like our own, we forget their looks, nor can our memory retain the idea of their faces; and it is no wonder: for they are ourselves, and our affection makes their looks our own. This noble affection falls not on vulgar and common constitutions, but on such as are marked for virtue. He that can love his friend with this noble ardour, will, in a competent degree, affect all. Now, if we can bring our affections to look beyond the body, and cast an eye upon the soul, we have found the true object, not only of friendship, but charity; and the greatest happiness that we can bequeath the soul, is that wherein we all do place our last felicity, salvation; which, though it be not in our power to bestow, it is in our charity, and pious invocations to desire, if not procure and further. I cannot contentedly frame a prayer for myself in particular, without a catalogue for my friends; nor request a happiness wherein my sociable disposition doth not desire the fellowship of my neighbour. I never heard the toll of a passing-bell, though in my mirth, without my prayers and best wishes for the departing spirit. I cannot go to cure the body

But to pray for our enemies—i.e. for their salvation—is not impossible. We can achieve it by the practice of our daily devotion.

of my patient, but I forget my profession, and call unto God for his soul. I cannot see one say his prayers, but instead of imitating him, I fall into a supplication for him, who, perhaps, is no more to me than a common nature: and if God hath vouchsafed an ear to my supplications, there are surely many happy that never saw me, and enjoy the blessing of my unknown devotions. To pray for enemies, that is, for their salvation, is no harsh precept, but the practice of our daily and ordinary devotions. I cannot believe the story of the Italian: our bad wishes and uncharitable desires proceed no further than this life; it is the devil, and the uncharitable votes of hell, that desire our misery in the world to come.

SECT. VII.

To forgive is the sweetest revenge. Revenge would be the greatest injury. But it is no breach of Charity to be at variance with our own vices and faults.

To do no injury, nor take none, was a principle, which to my former years, and impatient affections, seemed to contain enough of morality; but my more settled years, and Christian constitution, have fallen upon severer resolutions. I can hold there is no such thing as injury; that if there be, there is no such injury as revenge, and no such revenge as the contempt of an injury; that to hate another, is to malign himself; that the truest way to love another, is to despise ourselves. I were unjust unto mine own conscience, if I should say I am at variance with anything like myself. I find there are many pieces in this one fabric of man; this frame is raised upon a mass of anti-

pathies. I am one, methinks, but as the world; wherein notwithstanding, there are a swarm of distinct essences, and in them another world of contraries; we carry private and domestic enemies within, public and more hostile adversaries without. The devil, that did but buffet St. Paul, plays, methinks, at sharp with me. Let me be nothing if within the compass of myself, I do not find the battle of Lepanto, passion against reason, reason against faith, faith against the devil, and my conscience against all. There is another man within me, that is angry with me, rebukes, commands, and dastards me. I have no conscience of marble, to resist the hammer of more heavy offences; nor yet too soft and waxen, as to take the impression of each single peccadillo or scape of infirmity. I am of a strange belief, that it is as easy to be forgiven some sins, as to commit some others. For my original sin, I hold it to be washed away in my baptism; for my actual trangressions, I compute and reckon with God, but from my last repentance, sacrament, or general absolution; and therefore am not terrified with the sins or madness of my youth. I thank the goodness of God, I have no sins that want a name: I am not singular in offences; my transgressions are epidemical, and from the common breath of our corruption. For there are certain tempers of body, which matched with a humorous depravity of mind, do hatch and produce vitiosities, whose

newness and monstrosity of nature admits no name; this was the temper of that lecher that carnalled with a statue, and constitution of Nero in his spintrian recreations: for the heavens are not only fruitful in new and unheard-of stars, the earth in plants and animals; but men's minds also in villainy and vices. Now the dulness of my reason, and the vulgarity of my disposition, never prompted my invention, nor solicited my affection unto any of those; yet even those common and quotidian infirmities that so necessarily attend me, and do seem to be my very nature, have so dejected me, so broken the estimation that I should have otherwise of myself, that I repute myself the most abject piece of mortality. Divines prescribe a fit of sorrow to repentance; there goes indignation, anger, sorrow, hatred, into mine; passions of a contrary nature, which neither seem to suit with this action, nor my proper constitution. It is no breach of charity to ourselves, to be at variance with our vices; nor to abhor that part of us, which is an enemy to the ground of charity, our God; wherein we do but imitate our great selves, the world, whose divided antipathies, and contrary faces do yet carry a charitable regard unto the whole by their particular discords, preserving the common harmony, and keeping in fetters those powers, whose rebellions once masters, might be the ruin of all.

SECT. VIII.

The author is glad to find that he is free from pride and conceit. Solomon rightly complained of ignorance, though at the height of knowledge. This complaint of Solomon has humbled the author's conceit about his own learning and attainments.

I thank God, amongst those millions of vices I do inherit and hold from Adam, I have escaped one, and that a mortal enemy to charity, the first and father-sin, not only of man, but of the devil—pride; a vice whose name is comprehended in a monosyllable, but in its nature not circumscribed with a world. I have escaped it in a condition that can hardly avoid it. Those petty acquisitions and reputed perfections that advance and elevate the conceits of other men, add no feathers unto mine. I have seen a grammarian tower and plume himself over a single line in Horace, and show more pride in the construction of one ode, than the author in the composure of the whole book. For my own part, besides the jargon and patois of several provinces, I understand no less than six languages; yet I protest I have no higher conceit of myself than had our fathers before the confusion of Babel, when there was but one language in the world, and none to boast himself either linguistic or critic. I have not only seen several countries, beheld the nature of their climes, the chorography of their provinces, topography of their cities, but understood their several laws, customs, and policies; yet cannot all this persuade the dulness of my spirit unto such an opinion of myself, as I behold in nimbler and conceited heads, that never looked a degree beyond their nests. I know the names, and somewhat more, of all the constellations in my horizon; yet I have seen a

parting mariner, that could only name the pointers and the north star, out-talk me, and conceit himself a whole sphere above me. I know most of the plants of my country, and of those about me; yet, methinks I do not know so many as when I did but know a hundred, and had scarcely ever simpled further than Cheapside. For indeed, heads of capacity, and such as are not full with a handful, or easy measure of knowledge, think they know nothing, till they know all; which being impossible, they fall upon the opinion of Socrates, and only know they know not anything. I cannot think that Homer pined away upon the riddle of the fisherman, or, that Aristotle, who understood the uncertainty of knowledge, and confessed so often the reason of man too weak for the works of nature, did ever drown himself upon the flux and reflux of the Euripus. We do but learn to-day, what our better advanced judgments will unteach to-morrow: and Aristotle doth but instruct us, as Plato did him; that is, to confute himself. I have run through all sorts, yet find no rest in any: though our first studies and junior endeavours may style us peripatetics, stoics, or academics, yet I perceive the wisest heads prove, at last, almost all sceptics, and stand like Janus in the field of knowledge. I have therefore one common and authentic philosophy I learned in the schools, whereby I discourse and satisfy the reason of other men; another more reserved, and drawn

from experience, whereby I content mine own. Solomon, that complained of ignorance in the height of knowledge, hath not only humbled my conceits, but discouraged my endeavours. There is yet another conceit that hath sometimes made me shut my books, which tells me it is a vanity to waste our days in the blind pursuit of knowledge; it is but attending a little longer, and we shall enjoy that by instinct and infusion, which we endeavour at here by labour and inquisition. It is better to sit down in a modest ignorance, and rest contented with the natural blessing of our own reasons, than by the uncertain knowledge of this life, with sweat and vexation, which death gives every fool gratis, and is an accessary of our glorification.

SECT. IX.

The author expresses his Opinion on Marriage and Polygamy. The author wishes the world could be perpetuated without marriage. But he has no prejudice against the fair sex, whom he admires as he admires all beautiful things and music. All have a natural liking of rhythm and harmony. The author does not, like some other physicians, wish for plagues

I was never yet once [married], and commend their resolutions who never marry twice : not that I disallow of second marriage ; as neither in all cases of polygamy, which, considering some times, and the unequal number of both sexes, may be also necessary. The whole world was made for man, but the twelfth part of man for woman. Man is the whole world, and the breath of God ; woman the rib and crooked piece of man. I could be content that we might procreate like trees, without conjunction, or that there were any way to perpetuate the world without this trivial and vulgar way of coition ; it is the foolishest act a wise man commits in all his

and famines and other portents that mar the harmony of the state.

life, nor is there anything that will more deject his cooled imagination, when he shall consider what an odd and unworthy piece of folly he hath committed. I speak not in prejudice, nor am averse from that sweet sex, but naturally amorous of all that is beautiful. I can look a whole day with delight upon a handsome picture, though it be but of a horse. It is my temper, and I like it the better, to affect all harmony; and sure there is music even in the beauty, and the silent note which Cupid strikes, far sweeter than the sound of an instrument. For there is a music wherever there is a harmony, order, or proportion; and thus far we may maintain the music of the spheres; for those well-ordered motions, and regular paces, though they give no sound unto the ear, yet to the understanding they strike a note most full of harmony. Whosoever is harmonically composed delights in harmony; which makes me much distrust the symmetry of those heads which declaim against all church-music. For myself, not only from my obedience, but my particular genius, I do embrace it: for even that vulgar and tavern-music which makes one man merry, another mad, strikes in me a deep fit of devotion, and a profound contemplation of the first composer. There is something in it of divinity more than the ear discovers: it is an hieroglyphical and shadowed lesson of the whole world, and creatures of God; such a melody to the ear, as the

whole world well understood, would afford the understanding. In brief, it is a sensible fit of that harmony, which intellectually sounds in the ears of God. I will not say with Plato, the soul is a harmony, but harmonical, and has its nearest sympathy unto music: thus some, whose temper of body agrees, and humours the constitution of their souls, are born poets, though indeed all are naturally inclined unto rhythm. This made Tacitus, in the very first line of his story, fall upon a verse, and Cicero, the worst of poets, but declaiming for a poet, falls in the very first sentence upon a perfect hexameter. I feel not in me those sordid and unchristian desires of my profession; I do not secretly implore and wish for plagues, rejoice at famines, revolve ephemerides and almanacs in expectation of malignant aspects, fatal conjunctions, and eclipses: I rejoice not at unwholesome springs, or unseasonable winters; my prayer goes with the husbandman's; I desire everything in its proper season, that neither men nor the times be put out of temper. Let me be sick myself, if sometimes the malady of my patient be not a disease unto me. I desire rather to cure his infirmities than my own necessities: where I do him no good, methinks it is scarce honest gain; though I confess it is but the worthy salary of our well-intended endeavours. I am not only ashamed, but heartily sorry, that besides death, there are diseases incurable; yet not

for my own sake, or that they be beyond my art, but for the general cause and sake of humanity, whose common cause I apprehend as mine own. And to speak more generally, those three noble professions, which all civil commonwealths do honour, are raised upon the fall of Adam, and are not exempt from their infirmities; there are not only diseases incurable in physic, but cases indissolvable in law, vices incorrigible in divinity. If general councils may err, I do not see why particular courts should be infallible; their perfectest rules are raised upon the erroneous reasons of man; and the laws of one do but condemn the rules of another; as Aristotle oft-times the opinions of his predecessors, because, though agreeable to reason, yet were not consonant to his own rules and logic of his proper principles. Again, to speak nothing of the sin against the Holy Ghost, whose cure not only, but whose nature is unknown; I can cure the gout or stone in some, sooner than divinity, pride, or avarice in others. I can cure vices by physic, when they remain incurable by divinity: and shall obey my pills, when they contemn their precepts. I boast nothing, but plainly say we all labour against our own cure; for death is the cure of all diseases. There is no catholicon, or universal remedy I know, but this, which, though nauseous to queasy stomachs, yet to prepared appetites is nectar, and a pleasant potion of immortality.

SECT. X.

The author does not think any man can be so bad but that some good is found in him. He fears his own corruption more than contagion from others.

For my conversation, it is like the sun's, with all men, and with a friendly aspect to good and bad. Methinks there is no man bad, and the worst, best; that is, while they are kept within the circle of those qualities wherein they are good. There is no man's mind of such discordant and jarring a temper, to which a tuneable disposition may not strike a harmony. *Magnæ virtutes, nec minora vitia,* it is the posy of the best natures, and may be inverted on the worst. There are in the most depraved and venomous dispositions certain pieces that remain untouched, which by an antiperistasis become more excellent, or by the excellency of their antipathies are able to preserve themselves from the contagion of their enemy vices, and persist entire beyond the general corruption. For it is also thus in nature. The greatest balsams do lie enveloped in the bodies of most powerful corrosives; I say, moreover, and I ground upon experience, that poisons contain within themselves their own antidote, and that which preserves them from the venom of themselves, without which they were not deleterious to others only but to themselves also. But it is the corruption that I fear within me, not the contagion of commerce without me. It is that unruly regimen within me, that will destroy me; it is I that do infect myself, the man without a navel yet lives in me. I feel that original canker corrode and devour me; and therefore *defenda*

me, Dios, de me, "Lord deliver me from myself", is a part of my litany, and the first voice of my retired imaginations. There is no man alone, because every man is a microcosm, and carries the whole world about him; *nunquam minus solus quàm cum solus,* though it be the apophthegm of a wise man, is yet true in the mouth of a fool; indeed, though in a wilderness, a man is never alone, not only because he is with himself and his own thoughts, but because he is with the devil; who ever consorts with our solitude, and is that unruly rebel that musters up those disordered motions which accompany our sequestered imaginations. And to speak more narrowly, there is no such thing as solitude, nor anything that can be said to be alone and by itself but God, who is his own circle, and can subsist by himself; all others, besides their dissimilarity and heterogeneous parts, which in a manner multiply their natures, cannot subsist without the concourse of God, and the society of that hand which doth uphold their natures. In brief, there can be nothing truly alone, and by itself, which is not truly one; and such is only God; all others do transcend an unity, and so by consequence are many.

SECT. XI.

Man's life is a constant miracle. There is surely a piece of Divinity

Now for my life, it is a miracle of thirty years, which to relate were not a history but a piece of poetry, and would sound to common ears like a fable; for the world, I count it not

an inn but an hospital; and a place not to live, but to die in. The world that I regard is myself; it is the microcosm of my own frame that I cast mine eye on, for the other, I use it but like my globe, and turn it round sometimes for my recreation. Men that look upon my outside, perusing only my condition and fortunes, do err in my altitude, for I am above Atlas's shoulders. The earth is a point, not only in respect of the heavens above us, but of that heavenly and celestial part within us; that mass of flesh that circumscribes me limits not my mind; that surface that tells the heaven it hath an end cannot persuade me I have any. I take my circle to be above three hundred and sixty. Though the number of the arc do measure my body it comprehendeth not my mind. Whilst I study to find how I am a microcosm, or little world, I find myself something more than the great. There is surely a piece of divinity in us, something that was before the elements, and owes no homage unto the sun. Nature tells me I am the image of God, as well as Scripture. He that understands not thus much hath not his introduction, or first lesson, and is yet to begin the alphabet of man. Let me not injure the felicity of others, if I say I am as happy as any; *Ruat cælum, fiat voluntas tua*, salveth all; so that whatsoever happens it is but what our daily prayers desire. In brief, I am content, and what should Providence add more? Surely this is it we call

in us. The author feels he is contented and happy. Dreams give us a better apprehension of happiness than our waked senses.

happiness, and this do I enjoy ; with this I am happy in a dream, and as content to enjoy a happiness in a fancy, as others in a more apparent truth and reality. There is surely a nearer apprehension of anything that delights us in our dreams, than in our waking senses ; without this I were unhappy ; for my awaked judgment discontents me, ever whispering unto me that I am from my friend ; but my friendly dreams in night requite me, and make me think I am within his arms. I thank God for my happy dreams, as I do for my good rest, for there is a satisfaction unto reasonable desires, and such as can be content with a fit of happiness. And surely it is not a melancholy conceit to think we are all asleep in this world, and that the conceits of this life are as mere dreams to those of the next, as the phantasms of the night, to the conceits of the day. There is an equal delusion in both, and the one doth but seem to be the emblem or picture of the other. We are somewhat more than ourselves in our sleeps, and the slumber of the body seems to be but the waking of the soul. It is the ligation of sense, but the liberty of reason, and our waking conceptions do not match the fancies of our sleeps. At my nativity my ascendant was the watery sign of Scorpio. I was born in the planetary hour of Saturn, and I think I have a piece of the leaden planet in me. I am no way facetious, nor disposed for the mirth and galliardize of company ; yet in

one dream I can compose a whole comedy, behold the action, apprehend the jests, and laugh myself awake at the conceits thereof. Were my memory as faithful as my reason is then fruitful, I would never study but in my dreams; and this time also would I choose for my devotions; but our grosser memories have then so little hold of our abstracted understandings that they forget the story, and can only relate to our awaked souls a confused and broken tale of that that hath passed. Aristotle, who hath written a singular tract of sleep, hath not, methinks, thoroughly defined it; nor yet Galen, though he seem to have corrected it; for those noctambuloes and night-walkers, though in their sleep, do yet enjoy the action of their senses. We must therefore say, that there is something in us that is not in the jurisdiction of Morpheus, and that those abstracted and ecstatic souls do walk about in their own corpses as spirits with the bodies they assume, wherein they seem to hear and feel, though indeed the organs are destitute of sense, and their natures of those faculties that should inform them. Thus it is observed, that men sometimes, upon the hour of their departure, do speak and reason above themselves; for then the soul, beginning to be freed from the ligaments of the body, begins to reason like herself, and to discourse in a strain above mortality.

SECT. XII.

Sleep is a kind of death, but it is waking that kills us. The author would not go to sleep without prayer. A prayer is his sleeping dose.

We term sleep a death, and yet it is waking that kills us and destroys those spirits that are the house of life. It is indeed a part of life that best expresseth death; for every man truly lives, so long as he acts his nature, or some way makes good the faculties of himself: Themistocles, therefore, that slew his soldier in his sleep, was a merciful executioner; it is a kind of punishment the mildness of no laws hath invented; I wonder the fancy of Lucan and Seneca did not discover it. It is that death by which we may be literally said to die daily; a death which Adam died before his mortality; a death whereby we live a middle and moderating point between life and death; in fine, so like death, I dare not trust it without my prayers, and a half adieu unto the world, and take my farewell in a colloquy with God.

The night is come, like to the day;
Depart not thou, great God, away.
Let not my sins, black as the night,
Eclipse the lustre of thy light.
Keep still in my horizon; for to me
The sun makes not the day, but thee.
Thou whose nature cannot sleep,
On my temples sentry keep;
Guard me 'gainst those watchful foes,
Whose eyes are open while mine close.
Let no dreams my head infest,
But such as Jacob's temples blest.
While I do rest, my soul advance;
Make my sleep a holy trance:
That I may, my rest being wrought,

Awake into some holy thought.
And with as active vigour run
My course as doth the nimble sun.
Sleep is a death ;—O make me try,
By sleeping, what it is to die !
And as gently lay my head
On my grave, as now my bed.
Howe'er I rest, great God, let me
Awake again at last with thee.
And thus assur'd, behold I lie
Securely, or to wake or die.
These are my drowsy days ; in vain
I do now wake to sleep again :
O come that hour, when I shall never
Sleep again, but wake for ever !

This is the dormitive I take to bedward ; I need no other laudanum than this to make me sleep : after which, I close mine eyes in security, content to take my leave of the sun, and sleep unto the resurrection.

SECT. XIII.

As for Justice, the author goes even beyond the precept : "Do unto others as thou wouldst be done unto thyself." That is, he becomes unjust to himself. Avarice is a ridiculous vice. It is a kind of madness. Poor may be liberal and even munificent. "He that giveth to the poor, lendeth to the Lord."

The method I should use in distributive justice, I often observe in commutative ; and keep a geometrical proportion in both ; whereby becoming equable to others, I become unjust to myself, and supererogate in that common principle, "Do unto others as thou wouldst be done unto thyself". I was not born unto riches, neither is it I think my star to be wealthy ; or if it were, the freedom of my mind, and frankness of my disposition, were able to contradict and cross my fates. For to me avarice seems not so much a vice, as a deplorable piece of madness ; to conceive ourselves urinals, or be persuaded that we are

dead, is not so ridiculous or so many degrees beyond the power of hellebore, as this. The opinion of theory, and positions of men, are not so void of reason, as their practised conclusions : some have held that snow is black, that the earth moves, that the soul is air, fire, water ; but all this is philosophy, and there is no delirium, if we do but speculate the folly and indisputable dotage of avarice. To that subterraneous idol, and god of the earth, I do confess I am an atheist. I cannot persuade myself to honour what the world adores ; whatsoever virtue its prepared substance may have within my body, it hath no influence or operation without; I would not entertain a base design, or an action that should call me villain, for the Indies ; and for this only do I love and honour my own soul, and have methinks two arms too few to embrace myself. Aristotle is too severe, that will not allow us to be truly liberal without wealth, and the bountiful hand of fortune ; if this be true, I must confess I am charitable only in my liberal intentions, and bountiful well-wishes. But if the example of the mite be not only an act of wonder, but an example of the noblest charity, surely poor men may also build hospitals, and the rich alone have not erected cathedrals. I have a private method which others observe not ; I take the opportunity of myself to do good ; I borrow occasion of charity from mine own necessities, and supply the wants of others,

when I am in most need myself; for it is an honest stratagem to make advantage of ourselves, and so to husband the acts of virtue, that where they were defective in one circumstance, they may repay their want, and multiply their goodness in another. I have not Peru in my desires, but a competence, and ability to perform those good works, to which he hath inclined my nature. He is rich, who hath enough to be charitable; and it is hard to be so poor, that a noble mind may not find a way to this piece of goodness. He that giveth to the poor, lendeth to the Lord; there is more rhetoric in that one sentence, than in a library of sermons; and indeed if those sentences were understood by the reader, with the same emphasis as they are delivered by the author, we needed not those volumes of instructions, but might be honest by an epitome. Upon this motive only I cannot behold a beggar without relieving his necessities with my purse, or his soul with my prayers; these scenical and accidental differences between us cannot make me forget that common and untouched part of us both; there is under these centos and miserable outsides, these mutilate and semi-bodies, a soul of the same alloy with our own, whose genealogy is God's as well as ours, and in as fair a way to salvation as ourselves. Statists that labour to contrive a commonwealth without our poverty, take away the object of charity, not understanding only the common-

wealth of a Christian, but forgetting the prophecy of Christ.

SECT. XIV.

We should love God for his own sake, and we should love our neighbour for God's sake.

Now there is another part of charity, which is the basis and pillar of this, and that is the love of God, for whom we love our neighour; for this I think charity, to love God for himself, and our neighbour for God. All that is truly amiable is God, or, as it were, a divided piece of him, that retains a reflex or shadow of himself. Nor is it strange that we should place affection on that which is invisible: all that we truly love is thus; what we adore under affection of our senses, deserves not the honour of so pure a title. Thus we adore virtue though to the eyes of sense she be invisible: thus that part of our noble friends that we love, is not that part that we embrace, but that insensible part that our arms cannot embrace. God being all goodness, can love nothing but himself, and the traduction of his Holy Spirit. Let us call to assize the loves of our parents, the affection of our wives and children, and they are all dumb shows and dreams, without reality, truth, or constancy: for first, there is a strong bond of affection between us and our parents; yet how easily dissolved! We betake ourselves to a woman, forget our mother in a wife, and the womb that bare us, in that that shall bear our image: this woman blessing us with children, our affection leaves the level it held before, and sinks from our

bed unto our issue and picture of posterity, where affection holds no steady mansion. They, growing up in years, desire our ends; or applying themselves to a woman, take a lawful way to love another better than ourselves. Thus I perceive a man may be buried alive, and behold his grave in his own issue.

SECT XV.

Conclusion : there is no happiness but in God. There is no other "summum bonum" in life. The author prays to God that he may bless him with peace of conscience, control of his passions, love of Himself and of his dearest friends. This is his just ambition and all he can call happiness on earth.

I conclude therefore and say, there is no happiness under (or as Copernicus will have it, above) the sun, nor any crambe in that repeated verity and burthen of all the wisdom of Solomon, "All is vanity and vexation of spirit". There is no felicity in that the world adores. Aristotle, whilst he labours to refute the idea of Plato, falls upon one himself; for his *summum bonum* is a chimæra, and there is no such thing as his felicity. That wherein God himself is happy, the holy angels are happy, in whose defect the devils are unhappy; that dare I call happiness: whatsoever conduceth unto this, may with an easy metaphor deserve the name; whatsoever else the world terms happiness, is to me a story out of Pliny, a tale of Boccaccio or Malaspini; an apparition or neat delusion, wherein there is no more of happiness than the name. Bless me in this life with but peace of my conscience, command of my affections, the love of thyself and my dearest friends, and I shall be happy enough to pity Cæsar. These are, O Lord, the humble desires

of my most reasonable ambition, and all I dare call happiness on earth; wherein I set no rule or limit to thy hand of Providence; dispose of me according to the wisdom of thy pleasure. Thy will be done though in my own undoing.

FINIS.

NOTES

A LETTER FROM SIR THOMAS BROWNE TO SIR KENELM DIGBY.

This Letter and the Reply following represent the correspondence between the author and Digby following upon the latter's criticism of *Religio Medici* in its unauthorized form. It was published in the first authorized edition of 1643.

P. 1. *Animadversions,* Remarks ; comments.

Descended, Condescended.

Exercitation, Putting into practice ; discourse.

Run...corruption, The text of the book got more and more corrupt.

P. 2. *Vacant hours,* Leisure.

Vouchsafe of your refute, Allowing me a refutation.

In....Pen, By causing you to write.

REPLY

BY SIR KENELM DIGBY

P. 3. *The third current,* We would now say "the third instant."

Mr. Crooke, Mr. Andrew Crooke, the publisher of the unauthorized editions of 1642, as also of many of the subsequent authorized editions of *Religio Medici.*

My lord of Dorset, Friend of Digby who had asked him for favour of his remarks on the book.

P. 4. *Entering the lists,* Entering into controversy.

Unequal progress, Other editions read " Congress." In any case the meaning is " contest."

Sinewy opposite, An opponent of such intellectual power.

Lady auditors, Lady readers. (Some editions read " lay auditors.")

TO THE READER

This address to the Reader appeared first in the edition of 1643. It explains when the book was written and under what circumstances it was published.

P. 7. *That man were greedy etc.,* That man would be greedy of life etc. (The idea is taken from Seneca's tragedy of *Thyestes* V, 882.)

I had not wanted, I should not have wanted.

Reparations, Amends.

P. 8. *This I confess....composed,* The author states he had composed the book some seven years ago i.e. in 1635. (Notice the inverted *order* of words in this sentence, which has been commented upon in the Introduction).

Penned in such a place, See Introduction. The author wrote it when living in Yorkshire, before coming down to Norwich. [The author is here describing to the Reader the place where and circumstances under which the book was first written].

From the first setting etc., The author states he had no books to verify, but had always to quote etc. from memory.

Not an immutable law, The author says these were his early opinions. They were open to revision and are binding on nobody.

P. 9. *Tropical,* Metaphorical ; figurative.

Submission...discernments, Subject to reconsideration or modification by people of advanced thought.

Ingenious reader, Some texts read " ingenuous reader."

RELIGIO MEDICI

PART I

SECT. I

P. 11. *As the general scandal,* Such as the scandalous reputation of my profession. Many doctors were atheists and a Latin proverb stated "Where there are three doctors, there are two atheists."

Font, The Christening ceremony.

Neither doth...Jews, At the same time my sense of charity restrains me from hating Turks, Jews etc.

What is worse, This is said because it was the Jews who got Jesus Christ to be crucified.

SECT. II

P. 12. *I dislike nothing but the name,* Browne means he does not like the name "Protestant," because it savours too much of "protest" and says nothing about "faith."

Of the same...taught, The same faith which was taught by Jesus Christ.

Apostles, The immediate disciples of Christ who were commanded by him to propagate his Faith.

The Fathers, The Fathers of the Church, the early writers on Christian theology and doctrine.

Restore...integrity, Browne takes the Protestant form of Christianity as a going back to the original form. (The Catholics will *not* admit it!)

The accidental occasion, The issue of Indulgences by Pope Leo X, which roused Luther to oppose.

The low and abject etc., The humble origin of the person by whom the Reformation was brought about. Luther was a man of low origin, being the son of a miner.

SECT. III

I have not shaken etc., I have not said my final good-bye to men of those desperate resolutions (i.e. the Roman Catholics) so as

to stand " in diameter " i.e. diametrically opposed to them or in an attitude of direct hostility.

Had rather venture, Would rather venture.

Bottom, Ship.

P. 13. *Improperations*, Taunts. (From *Latin* " improperare " to upbraid. This word is an extraordinary " coinage " of Browne.)

Those many texts, e.g. 2 *Kings XVI*, 3 ; *Jeremiah X*, *Ezekiel* XXXVI, 21 etc.

P. 14. *The miserable condition of friars*, Both Chaucer and Langland denounce the avarice and immorality of the friars, though when the order of friars was first founded by St. Francis of Assissi, they were very holy people.

The Ave Maria bell, A church bell that tolled every day at 6 and 12 o'clock, on hearing which people took to prayer. [This is Browne's own explanatory note. Literally " Ave Maria " means " Hail, Mary." In the Catholic Church prayers were also addressed to Mary, mother of Christ.]

Devotion to her i.e. to the Virgin Mary.

Consorts, Companions.

Greek. . .Churches, The Greek and the Roman Church still continue in Europe. In the early centuries of Christianity, there was a school of Christianity in northern Africa.

SECT. IV

P. 15. *With mediocrity*, with moderation.

SECT. V

To difference. . .nearer, To define my position more closely.

Calvin, 1509—1564, more advanced Protestant than Luther (1483—1546). Calvin lived at Geneva.

Disavouched it, Has not recognised it.

Council of Trent, A great Church Council held from 1545 to 1563 which defined the doctrine and discipline of the Catholic Church.

P. 16. *Synod of Dort*, This meeting held in 1619 condemned Arminianism i.e. the doctrine of Arminius, a Dutch Protestant

theologian, who put forth views opposed to those of Calvin. He refused to hold God responsible for evil.

Where the scripture is silent etc., Where the Bible says nothing, Browne follows the practice of the Church. The historian Hallam, commenting on this passage remarked that the Jesuits did not ask any other concession to *supply* whatever was *not* in the Bible.

From Rome or Geneva i.e. from the Catholic Church or from Calvin (who ruled at Geneva.)

Refused not...Rome, This is quite true. Henry VIII overthrew the papal authority but not Catholic doctrine. He was thus neither a Protestant nor a Catholic, but a schismatic.

His predecessors desired etc., William Rufus, Henry I and Henry II strove against Anselm, Becket and Pope Innocent III respectively.

Bishop of Rome, The Pope.

The state of Venice etc., Pope Pius V in 1606 threatened Venice with excommunication, because the Jesuits were expelled from that city.

Whore of Babylon, Standard term of abuse against Rome and the papal power among rabid Protestants.

SECT. VI

P. 17. *Remain as trophies etc.*, Become living proofs of the victory of Error or Falsehood.

His best Oedipus, His best help in solving difficulties, just as Oedipus solved the Sphinx's riddle. (*Oedipus* was a Theban prince exposed to die at his birth and brought up as a shepherd. The Sphinx devoured all those passing on the road to Thebes who could not answer her riddle, which was "What is that thing which walks with four feet, three feet, and two feet, and is strongest when walking with two and weakest when walking with four?" The answer Oedipus gave is "Man.")

P. 18. *The epicycle etc.*, This is a metaphor from the Ptolemaic astronomy. The "Epicycle" was a circle which had its centre on the circumference of a greater circle, along which it moved. In this way Ptolemy explained the fact that a planet has sometimes a forward motion and sometimes a retrograde motion, in relation to the zodiacal signs. Browne here states that in matters

of religion, he does not give his intellect an independent motion of its own, but his mind moves only following the great lead of the church.

Like Arethusa, According to Greek mythology, Arethusa was a fountain nymph whom the river-god Alpheus loved and pursued. She ran from Elis under the sea and came out as a fountain of that name near Syracuse in Sicily. (cf. Ovid's *Metamorphoses,* Book V.)

The like aspects etc, Similar astrological groupings of the stars and planets. (This is an illustration of Browne's belief in astrology.)

Metempsychosis, Transmigration of the soul from body to body.

Plato's year, A cycle of some 25,000 years, after which the heavenly bodies would return to their original positions, after which, some believed that events would recur in the same order as before.

P. 19. *There have been. . . .Timons,* We know only one Diogenes and one Timon, but Browne says, many such men have existed. *Diogenes,* the great *Cynic* philosopher, born at Sinope. He lived at Athens and Corinth about the time of Alexander the great. A man of ascetic habits, it was said he lived in a tub!

Timon, Athenian, who lived during the Peloponnesian War. He was once a friend of the great general Alcibiades, but in the end became a great Misanthrope. Shakespeare has a tragedy with Timon the Misanthrope as hero.

SECT. VII

The first of mine, My first error.

That of the Arabians, Browne thinks it was an Arabic theory that the soul perished with the body but rose again on the Last Day of Judgment, when there was a Resurrection of all the souls (Browne says he once held the theory but gave it up when he found it against the opinion of the Church. Origen successfully refuted this theory. St. Augustine and others discussed the theory).

Origen, The great Christian philosopher of Alexandria. He lived about 200 A.D. While an orthodox Christian, he held certain views on re-incarnation which were rejected by the Church.

The second....Origen, Origen held the view that sinners, as well as, the devils would ultimately be discharged from their torment.

P. 20. *The prayer for the dead,* This was the *De Profundis* of the Catholic creed. Browne finds it to be against the Anglican creed, but wishes it were not so. He sympathised with the idea of praying for the souls of the dead. Dr. Johnson, though a staunch Anglican, used to pray for his wife's soul after her death.

Lucifer, Satan.

P. 21. *Delude them both,* Deceive both Eve and Adam.

SECT. VIII

The prophecy of Christ, See *Matthew* XXIV, 24.

Arians, Disciples of Arius (died 336 A.D.) Arius denied the divinity of Christ.

Complexionably...innovation, By their temperament inclined to start new-fangled ideas.

Dichotomy, A division or cutting into two parts.

Without they be, Unless they be.

Councils, i.e. Councils of the church.

Niceties of Schools, Nice distinctions of schools of theology.

Far...heresy, Far from heretical.

SECT. IX

P. 22. *Pia mater,* (literally, "the holy mother".) The delicate membrane investing the brain.

To pursue....altitudo, To lead my reason to a deeper and more divine wisdom. [The phrase "O altitudo" is taken from the *Vulgate* rendering of St. Paul, *Romans,* XI, 33. In that context, the Latin word "altitudo" means "depth". St. Paul says "O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God!"]

Riddles of the Trinity, The Christian "Trinity" consists of God the Father, the son Jesus Christ, and the Holy Ghost (or Holy Spirit of God). Arius had said that Christ was not divine, that he was in essence different from God. On the other hand, Athanasius (whose creed ultimately prevailed with orthodox Christia-

nity) maintained that the Trinity was a Unity—the three were in one and the one in three.

Tertullian, (160—230 A.D.) One of the Fathers of the Christian church, an eloquent speaker and writer whose utterances have become proverbial. He was a noted theologian.

"*Certum est etc.*", (Latin) "It is certain because it is impossible."

The Red Sea, Browne refers to the Miracle that God caused the Red Sea to open out a pathway for Moses and the Jews to escape from Egypt.

P. 23. *He was dead....again*, Browne refers to the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ.

They only had...coming, Browne refers to the prophecies about the Messiah, and he says those who put faith in these *prophecies* and expected his arrival had more faith than we who have history to tell us about Christ.

SECT. X

The adjunct the Apostle gives it, Browne would call Faith not so much a sword as a shield of defence. The apostle is St. Paul who in *Ephesians* VI, 16 speaks of "the shield of faith" by which the arrows of the wicked can be "quenched."

In an easy........description, In the transcendental manner of Plato.

Hermes, Hermes Trismegistus. This name was first given by neoplatonists and alchemists to the Egyptian god THOTH, regarded more or less identical with the Greek god Hermes. Later on this name was given by neoplatonists to the author of various books, of which the chief was "Poimandres" (i.e. the Divine Intelligence).

Allegorical description of Hermes, Hermes described God as "a globe whose centre is everywhere and circumference is nowhere."

Anima est etc., "Anima," the living principle is the angel of man and the body of the Deity.

Entelecheia, (Aristotelian concept) Absolute existence. [Browne says he can as well believe in the poetical description about the human soul being the angel of man and the body of God, as he

can believe in Aristotle's concept that the Soul is 'absolute existence."]

Lux est umbra .... perspicui, Browne says further that he can believe in the poetical concept that Light is the SHADOW of God as he can believe in the principle that it is the impulse of the transparent. In short Browne prefers poetical and fanciful description to vague scientific technology where exact definition cannot be given.

Periphrasis, Round about description.

P. 24. *Haggard ....lure of faith,* Haggard is a wild, untrained hawk. Browne is employing figurative language. *Reason* is like a wild hawk that must be tamed to swoop upon the joys of faith.

There was a tree, The reference is to the Tree of Knowledge in Paradise, see *Genesis* II, 17 etc.

The serpent ....curse, God ordered the serpent to go creeping on its belly, but Browne thinks that from its figure the creature must have been creeping even before the curse. (For the curse, see *Genesis*, III, 14).

Which God ordained the Jews, See *Deuteronomy* XXII, 13—18
Pucelage, Virginity.

Yet do I believe .... false, Browne says that his reason inclines him to think that these things are false, but his faith makes him believe in these things. (This shows the difference between the man of science of Browne's time and the man of science in these modern times. The latter will not take any thing on trust. In Browne's days the statements of the Scripture were taken to be literally true. Modern geology and evolution make such belief impossible.

SECT. XI

Neque enim cum etc., (Latin) For neither when the porch or the couch receives me, do I fail myself (The Latin quotation is adapted from Horace).

Confound ... understanding, Because "Eternity" is an idea very difficult to realize.

P. 25. *Solecism,* Usually the word means "any breach of grammar or syntax," but here it means "absurdity," "incongruity."

It puts my reason etc., It makes my reason take shelter behind the words of St. Paul. Browne is probably alluding to *Romans* XI, where St. Paul speaks of the depth of God's wisdom, (See Notes to Sect. IX) or to *Ephesians* III, 8-9, where St. Paul speaks of his special privilege to see things "by revelation," and preach to the gentiles.

I am that I am, The Lord told Moses, "I am what I am." (Moses was the great founder of the Jewish religion).

Predestination, This was a favourite topic of theological controversy, viz. whether man is *predestined* to commit sin or whether he has the free will to judge and commit or not commit sin.

Prescious, Foreknowing; with fore-knowledge.

The last trump....bosom, With God there is no difference between Present and Future: they are both comprised in Eternity, so far as God's decrees are concerned, we may say the trumpets have already been sounded for the last day of judgment and the sinners already consigned to Hell-fire and the blessed resting in innocence with Abraham. Abraham was the great patriarch of the Jewish people.

St. Peter speaks modestly, Cf. the second *epistle of St. Peter* III, 8.

SECT. XII

P. 26. *Aristotle .... eternal*, (Cf. Aristotle's *Metaphysics* VIII, 8). Aristotle argued the world must be eternal because all "created" things come into the "actual" from what is "possible." There must be a fowl before an egg, and if the one is "actual" the other is possible, and so between the "actual" and the "possible" things go on eternally.

Two eternities, Aristotle held that God and the world, *both* were eternal.

There is in us not three .... trinity of souls, The Peripatetics (followers of Aristotle) held that men had three distinct souls; but in contradistinction to this theory Browne holds the soul has a triple nature.

The triple unity of God, The Trinity according to the Christian religion, the three being one, and the One in Three.

Secret .... numbers, Pythagoras was besides being a philosopher also a mathematician, and believed that numbers had mystic values.

Stenography, shorthand; the art of writing quickly by means of abbreviations.

P. 27. *Philosophy of Hermes*, See notes to Sect. X.

SECT. XIII

The counsel even of the devil himself, Browne refers to the counsel of the ancient oracles—and pious Christians took the oracles as the trick of the Devil.

Known ourselves, "Know thyself" was the sage advice of one of the Seven Wise men of Greek tradition. (Browne says "If Satan had known himself while he was in Paradise, he would not have fallen and consequently man would not have fallen from grace).

Delphos, The oracle of Delphi, which pious Christians like Browne attributed to the Devil.

P. 28. *To profound these mysteries*, i.e. to fathom them ["Profound" is here used as a verb. Another reading is "propound".]

Sanctum sanctorum, (*Latin*), Holy of holies.

'Tis the debt etc., This is a duty which on account of our Reason, we owe to God. (*of our Reason*=for our Reason).

The sixth day, According to *Genesis*, on the sixth day God made Man, and on the seventh He took rest.

P. 29. *Abrupts* (It is a *verb* here) Breaks off.

If not he that saith Lord, Lord etc., The reference is to *Matthew* VII, 21, where Jesus says not every one that calls on him in prayer shall enter the kingdom of heaven, but only those that do the will of his Father in heaven.

SECT. XIV

P. 30. *One first cause etc.*, Probably Browne takes God to be the one first cause or final cause.

Four second causes, Four secondary causes, viz. the *efficient* cause, the *material* cause, the *formal* cause, and the *instrumental* cause. These are according to Aristotle. Plato added a Fifth

Cause, the Exemplar or Index (in the mind of the Creator, and this may correspond to Browne's *First* Cause).

Galen, Ancient Greek physician and philosopher, lived about 190 A.D. He wrote the treatise *De Usu Partium. On the Use of Parts.*

Suarez, Francisco Suarez (1548-1617) was a celebrated Spanish writer on International Law and on the Catholic Creed.

He had not left, He would not have left.

Absolute, Complete ; perfect.

SECT. XV

P. 31. *Natura nihil etc.*, Nature does nothing in vain.

Grotesques etc., Abnormal, eccentric things just to fill up space.

The Ark, Noah's Ark. Before God sent the Flood, He asked Noah to take to his Ark (or Boat) specimens of each living thing that they might be preserved.

Solomon chose the object etc., Refer to *Proverbs* VI, 6-12.

Go to school etc., Learn the wisdom of.

Colossus, The name of a giant statue of Apollo, astride the entrance of the harbour of Rhodes. [Browne uses the word for things in Nature that are of huge size.]

Narrow engines, the small minds of ants, bees, spiders etc.

The civility etc., Their polity ; civilization (Bees, as is well-known, form a sort of state.)

Regio Montanus, John de Monte Regio constructed a wooden eagle and an iron fly, to both of which he gave the power of motion. But in this his Fly was better than his Eagle. Du Bartas (1544-1590) celebrated them in the *La Sepime.*

Two souls etc., Namely it was believed by Plato that the insect had two souls, the *sensitive* and the *vegetative*, while plants and trees had only the *vegetative* soul.

Of Nile, Of the Nile, as some editors print. The great river of Egypt is meant. It floods periodically.

Conversion .... north, The northward turning of the magnetic needle.

¶*In the cosmography of myself*, I can find it all in the universe of my own being. Plato and other Greek philosophers held that

man is a *microcosm*, a world in miniature reflecting the *Macrocosm* or the larger world outside.

P. 32. *There is .... in us,* In our own persons, as human beings, we can find all the prodigies and wonders Africa can show.

Compendium, Summary.

SECT. XVI

That universal etc., The book of Nature which is open to all.

Those that .... the other, The ancient authors to whom God's Scripture was not known (viz. the Bible) had the book of Nature open to them.

Such divinity ..... nature, That is what Wordsworth did.

To make ....Sun, Browne, with all his science, still believed with Ptolemy that the Sun moved round the Earth.

P. 33. *By a faculty,* By a special power or authority.

He sweeteneth etc., See *Exodus,* XV, 25.

P. 34. *Nature .... with Nature,* Nature and Art agree with each other, both being the servants of God's Wisdom.

Art is the perfection of Nature, This is a true aphorism, full of wisdom. It would show that Art which goes against Nature defeats itself.

Nature is the art of God, Another wise aphorism. Hobbes employs this aphorism in the beginning of his Introduction to his great work, *Leviathan.*

SECT. XVII

Not prophecy, but prognostication, To conjecture the future course of nature does not require powers of prophecy, but an ability to read in advance the signs of an event that is to follow, just as a doctor makes a "Prognosis" i.e. prognosticates the course of a patient's disease, if his "Diagnosis" is correct.

No exact ephemerides, No journal or minute record of daily transactions.

P. 35. *Cryptic,* Hidden ; secret.

Bezo las Manos, (Spanish), Lowering of the hands i.e. as a sign of surrender.

Gramercy, Expression of thanks.

The ram in the thicket, See *Genesis*, XXII, 13. Abraham found a ram and sacrificed it to God instead of sacrificing his son Isaac.

Moses .... daughter, See Exodus, II, 3. Moses was put in an "ark of bulrushes" by his mother and cast adrift upon the river. He was found and brought up by the Pharaoh's daughter.

Story of Joseph, See *Genesis* XXXVII, XXXIX etc.

Able to convert a stoic, The story of Joseph's suffering at the hands of his brothers etc. would have drawn tears even from the eyes of a Stoic. The Stoic philosopher held himself above joy and sorrow.

Fougade, A small powder mine under a fortification, in order to cause an explosion.

Powder-plot, The Gun-powder Plot of 1605. The object was to blow up the Houses of Parliament. It was believed to have been made by the Catholics. Guy Fawkes, the arch-culprit was arrested and hanged. The plot was detected by means of a letter.

The victory of eighty-eight, The victory over the Spanish Armada in 1588.

P. 36. *The writing on the wall*, The allusion is to the writing that appeared on the wall at Belshazaar's Feast, which was interpreted by Daniel. See *Daniel*, V, 5.

The success .... Holland, The reference is to the War of Independence by the Netherlanders against Philip II of Spain, who wanted to persecute the Protestants of Holland and make them return to Catholicism. See Motley's *Rise of the Dutch Republic*.

All estates, All states.

Helix, A curve produced by winding a line around in a coil of gradually increasing radius.

SECT. XVIII

P. 37. *Sortileges*, Divination by drawing lots.

Fools only are fortunate, An adage of Erasmus.

Opprobrious epithets, The epithets "whore", "bawd" etc. were applied to Fortune by satirical poets like Juvenal.

Donatives, Gifts.

P. 38. *Judicial astrology*, That department of astrology which foretells the fates of men.

Born under Mercury i.e. Born at the moment when Mercury was rising above the eastern horizon.

I do not owe etc., It is not necessary for me to kneel down and pray to Mercury or Jupiter.

Benevolous aspects, Kindly aspects of the planets.

Had not erred, Would not have erred.

P. 39. *A wise supputation,* A wise computation. In the *Iliad,* Book VIII, Homer describes that the Earth is bound to Heaven and hanging from it by a *Golden Chain,* and the idea is taken up by Milton in *Paradise Lost.*

Sorites, (*Greek* meaning a "heap"), A chain of elliptical syllogisms, in which the conclusion of each except the last is omitted.

SECT. XIX

Advisoes, Admonitions (Strange word coined by Browne).

Triumvirate, Twice in Roman History was all government concentred in the hands of *three* men, once in 70 B.C., when the chief power was in the hands of Pompey, Caesar, and Crassus, and again after the battle of Philippi, when it was centred in the hands of Octavian, Mark Antony and Lepidus in 43 B. C. Browne seems to refer to the Second Triumvirate.

P. 40. *Archidoxes,* The mystic works of Paracelsus and others. They professed to cure wounds by anointing the instruments that made them, with a certain ointment. Paracelsus (1493-1541) practised magic, alchemy and astrology.

Miracle ..... serpent, See *Numbers XXI,* 9. Moses made this serpent of brass to cure people of snake-bite! Such a man had only to look at the brass serpent to be cured of snake-bite.

Miracle in Elias, See 1 *kings,* XVIII, 35. Paracelsus suggested that the fire that burnt the sacrifice in the midst of water must have been an inflammable substance like naphtha.

Sodom .... Gomorrah, See *Genesis,* XIX, 24. God destroyed these towns for their sinfulness by sending down a shower of brimstone and fire from heaven. The rationalist explanation was that the whole district was full of natural asphalt and bitumen.

P. 41. *Manna,* The food supplied to the Israelites while crossing the desert of Arabia in their flight from Egypt under the lead of Moses.

Calabria, In southern Italy.

Josephus, Flavius Josephus, 37-98 A. D. was a Jewish historian. He wrote his History in Greek.

Quare, Query.

SECT. XX

Doctrine of Epicurus, Epicurus died about 270 B. C. He said the Gods were devoted to pleasure and did not bother themselves about the government of the world.

That fatal .... Stoics, The doctrine of the Stoics, followers of Zeno, who lived about 260 B. C. The stoics held that man should despise the body and the passions of the body and cultivate only the intellect. They also held that Fate or Necessity presided over the earthly scene in all things. This Necessity, in Browne's opinion, practically amounts to God's Providence.

Those that denied etc. Browne refers to various sects in the early history of Christianity. The second class who denied the divinity of Christ were the followers of Arius.

P. 42. *That villain .... hell,* Ochinus, the unfrocked monk, who came to England in 1547. He worked for the Reformation and became a canon at Canterbury. The Socinians, who held that Jesus was not God but a divine prophet and that the sacraments had no supernatural quality regarded this Ochinus as one of their partisans. Hence Browne calls him the secretary of Hell.

The three impostors, The Emperor Frederick II was accused by the Pope that he had maintained that the world had been deceived by three impostors, viz. Christ, Moses, and Mahomet. There was a book with this title. Browne apparently ascribes it to Ochinus, but both book and authorship are alike unknown.

Was not ....Atheist, The tolerant Browne argues that even such a man was not a downright atheist.

Machiavel, Machivelli (1469-1527) the Florentine statesman and philosopher, author of *The Prince,* a political treatise in Italian, is taken here as a type of an unscrupulous sceptic and a cynic.

Lucian, Greek writer of about 120 A. D. He wrote Dialogues of the Dead, Dialogues of the gods etc. Humorous and vivacious, he often wrote under a veil of cynical levity.

Prejudicate, Formed before proper examination.

SECT. XXI

Yet are there heads, Yet there are people whose heads are carried off with these vain writings.

Doctor in physic i.e. a physician.

Galen, See notes to *Sect.* XIV.

Three lines of Seneca, Lines from Seneca's tragedy of *Troades*. Translation : "Do we die altogether, and no part of our life remains? After death there is nothing : death itself is nothing. Death indivisible is noxious to the body, nor is it considerate to the life."

Relations of mariners, Sailors' yarns, which were proverbially incredible.

Aelian, He lived at Rome in the middle of the 3rd century A. D. and wrote in Greek on history and the peculiarities of animals.

Pliny, The elder Pliny is referred to. He died in the great eruption of Vesuvius, 79 A.D., which his nephew, the younger Pliny, describes in a famous letter to Tacitus. The elder Pliny wrote a discursive Natural History, in many volumes, 77 A. D.

P. 43. *Sound .... Bevis*, Read like romances.

Gargantua, The giant of Rabelais, a prince of gigantic stature and appetite.

Bevis, Sir Bevis, the romantic knight of Southampton, the subject of many ballads. His exploits are described in Drayton's *Polyolbion*.

Find one that .... Sampson, It will be difficult to find a story that is half as incredible as that of Samson in the Bible.

Samson, Jewish Champion against the Philistines. See *Judges* XVI and Milton's *Samson Agonistes*.

Pigeon .... Ark, Cf. *Genesis* VIII, 8.

Lazarus, (See *St. John* XI.) Jesus Christ raised Lazarus from the dead. He had been dead four days. Where had his soul gone meanwhile? This is the question that Browne refers to.

Eve .... Adam, See *Genesis,* II, 21.

P. 44. Hermaphrodite, A person having the characteristics of both the sexes.

Rabbins, Jewish scholars skilled in expounding the Jewish law.

Whether the world .... autumn, The Latin poet Lucretius, in *De Rerum Natura,* Book V, 800 and Vergil in *Georgics* II, 335 favour spring as the season of creation. Browne discusses this question in *Pseudodoxia Epidemica,* VI, 2. Different philosophers held different views. Browne here maintains that the sun produces *all* the seasons at the same time, when we consider different parts of the globe, and he produces successively the different seasons at different times in the same part of the globe.

Fit .... library, Rabelais mentions in Pantagruel the feigned library of St. Victor (Rabelais II, 7). One of the books in that library is that of Tartaretus.

Tartaretus, A scholastic Frenchman who disputed with Duns Scotus. The book here mentioned was only a dirty jest of Rabelais. The subject attributed by Rabelais to Tartaretus's book is filthy. Tartaretus's works were reprinted in 1611.

SECT. XXII

Deucalion, In the story of the Deluge in Greek Mythology, Deucalion of Thessaly and his wife Pyrrha alone survived. (See Ovid : Metamorphosis II, 7.) The story how they caused the world to be re-populated is related by Ovid.

The honest father, St. Augustine.

Preserved in one ark etc., See *Genesis,* VI, 14 etc.

Tenents, Tenets.

P. 46. *Methusalem,* Methuselah, (*Genesis* V, 27). The Bible says he lived 969 years. Browne thinks other patriarchs may have lived longer !

Judas, Disciple who betrayed Christ.

Doubtful word, In *St. Matthew,* XXVII, 5, the word " apegzato " may mean either " suffocation " or " hanging."

Tower of Babel, See *Genesis,* XI, 4.

Shinar, The tower of Babel was built there.

Peter .... door, See *Acts* XII, 15. The disputed word might be "Angelos", angel or messenger (which meaning is usually accepted) or it might be "Aggelos" or family, and the meaning would be : (1) it is not Peter but his messenger or (2) it is not Peter but his family.

P. 47. *Franciscan,* A Franciscan friar.

SECT. XXIII

Judgment of Ptolemy, The Ptolemies were the last independent dynasty of Egypt. They had a regard for literature. (Ptolemy, the famous astronomer of 150 A. D. was descended of that family.) Cleopatra was the last ruler of Egypt and the last of the dynasty of the Ptolemies.

Alcoran, The Koran.

What Philo first etc., Philo of Alexandria about 30 A. D. wrote about the books of Moses. He maintained that the fundamentals of Greek philosophy were drawn from the books of Moses.

Zoroaster, Zarathustra of the Zend—Avesta was a vague figure of antiquity, the founder of the Zoroastrian religion and the cult of the ancient *Magi.*

SECT. XXIV

P. 48. *The lost lines of,* Cicero wrote several poems, in his earlier years. But he was very bad as a poet. Two poems of his later days referred to his consulship and exile. Juvenal (*Satires* X, 122) reproduces from one of his poems one of his unfortunate lines merely to ridicule it.

Library of Alexandria, It was burnt by order of Caliph Omar, 640 A. D. It contained 700,000 volumes. The burning of the library is said to have kept the city in fuel for six months.

Perished .... Solomon, The verses in 1 Kings IV, 32, 33 seem to indicate that Solomon wrote more than has survived.

Enoch's Pillars, According to legend, these were erected, one of stone and the other of bricks, with all known learning inscribed upon them. Josephus describes these pillars as having been erected by the descendants of Seth.

Pineda, A Spanish scholar and Franciscan friar, counsellor to the Inquisition, made a catalogue of books (in the principal Spanish

libraries) that were opposed to the Catholic religion. This " Index novus librorum prohibitorum " was published at Seville in 1631.

In his *Monarchia Ecclesiastica*, Pineda quotes (says Browne in his Note) one thousand and forty authors.

Three .... Germany, Printing, gunpowder, and clocks.

Utinam of my own, My own personal wish.

P. 49. *Typographers*, Printers.

Mystery, Craft.

SECT. XXV

P. 49. *Samaritans*, People of Samaria in Palestine, a mixed people allied to the Israelites. These people had their own recension of the Hebrew Pentateuch, or the five books of Moses, which they maintained to be the correct one.

Rabbinical......Testament, i.e., in their " Targums " and in the Talmud.

Issue of Jacob, i.e., the Jews.

Ethnic superstition, Superstitious customs.

Idolatry....neighbours, The Jews had many times practised idol worship of the Egyptians, Phoenicians, Babylonians etc.

That were a virtue in us, Which *would be* a virtue among us. (i.e. the Christians.)

Fall....coming, Come to believe that the Messiah is still to come in the future. (Jewish belief.)

P. 50. *Of those four members of religion*, Viz., Pagans, Jews, Mahomedans and Christians.

I confess, some new additions, Browne admits some new converts to Christianity (but he says immediately afterwards that other religions, like the Mahomedan, are getting more converts.)

First stone and basis, The bedrock and foundation.

P. 61. *Requisites which Aristotle requires*, The reference is to Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, III, 6-9. Aristotle considered " true valour " was a mean between rashness and fear. Valour and death in battle are advocated, but not a rash fury.

Name only....Cæsar, Browne says true valour was found only among the Christian martyrs, not in Aristotle's master, Alexander

the Great, nor in Cæsar,—probably because they did not observe a mean between rashness and fear.

SECT. XXVI

Council of Constance, Held from 1414 to 1418, by the Roman Catholic Church at Constance.

John Huss, 1373-1415, a Bohemian preacher. He preached a reformed form of Christianity. He was declared a Heretic by the Council of Constance, and burnt alive.

Martyrologues, Histories of martyrs.

P. 52. *Socrates,* 466-399 B.C., the Great Greek philosopher, teacher of Plato and others. He died the death of a martyr for freedom of thought, being falsely accused of teaching atheism, when he only taught the youth of Athens to have just and pure thoughts about the Deity.

Miserable....antipodes, Virgilius, bishop of Salzburg, was burnt alive in the 8th century by order of the Archbishop of Metz, because he asserted the existence of the *antipodes.* There is much doubt about the truth of this story, but Browne seems to have believed it. (See Disraeli's *Curiosities of Literature,* Vol. I, p. 39). "Antipodes" are people living on the opposite of the globe, whose feet are thus on the opposite side to ours.

Perish....indifferency, I would not court the death of a courtier for trivial details of ceremony, matters of mere expediency, (i.e. "politic points") or insignificant matters. i.e. ("indifferency.")

One fire into another, i.e. being burnt alive on earth and being consumed in Hell-fire afterwards.

SECT. XXVII

That they survived Christ, That miracles took place even after Christ's death etc. Reference to *Acts of the Apostles* III & XL will bear out Browne's contention.

P. 53. *Reported......miracles,* Some of them are described in Southey's *History of Brazil.*

Transmutation........saviour, Browne refers to the Catholic ceremony of Mass and the doctrine of *Transubstantiation.*

Conversion. . . .Cana, Well-known miracles performed by Christ. See *St. John,* II.

Stones into bread, See *St. Matthew,* IV, 3.

Question Esdras, See 2 *Esdras,* IV, 5 (*Apocrypha.*)

P. 54. *Pose mortality,* Puzzle mankind.

SECT. XXVIII

Efficacy of relics etc., The Catholic Church in the Middle Ages asked people to believe in miracles connected with the relics (such as bones, teeth, hair, parts of clothing) of the saints. Cf. Chaucer's description of the "Pardoner" in the Prologue to the Canterbury Tales.

The cross that St. Helena found, Flavia Julia Helena, mother of Constantine the Great found three crosses on Mount Calvary, one of which was believed to be that on which Christ suffered death. She thought it was so because, with its touch a dead man was resuscitated. (Browne doubts it.)

I excuse not Constantine etc., The Emperor Constantine (272-337 A. D.) *adopted* Christianity as the religion of the Roman Empire. The incident is described in Smith and Cheetham's Dictionary of Christian Antiquities, under the word, *Cross.* It is said one of the nails from Christ's cross which Helena gave to Constantine found its way into the Iron Cross of Lombardy.

Piae fraudes, Pious frauds.

Baldwin, King of Jerusalem, 1058-1118, Baldwin I, Protector of the Holy Sepulchre, assumed the title of "King of Jerusalem" which his brother Geoffrey had declined. He captured Acre and Sidon from the Saracens with the help of the Genoese fleet (whom he rewarded with the gift of the *supposed* ashes of John the Baptist, as related in the text), but he failed before Ascalon.

John the Baptist, Forerunner of Christ, the son of the priest Zacharias, and cousin of Mary, mother of Christ. He baptised and preached repentance and forgiveness of sins. He was executed at the request of Salome, daughter of Herodias by her first husband. (See *Matthew,* XIV.)

P. 55. *Climacter,* The grand climacteric, a dangerous point in man's life, at about 60 years of age, when physical and mental powers begin to decay.

SECT. XXIX

Cessation of oracles, Even Cicero in his *De Divinatione*, Book II says that in *his* time (i.e. 1900 years ago) the oracles were silent and neglected. The "oracles" were places (such as holy temples or forests) where the gods were supposed to give "responses" to questions asked. The most famous was Apollo's shrine at Delphi.

Plutarch allegeth etc., (Plutarch was the great Greek biographer of the 1st century A. D.) Plutarch gave a "rational" interpretation that these oracles depended upon exhalations from the earth, under influence of which the priests rattled off their answers, and that these came to an end, when the exhalations themselves ceased.

Solstice of the sun etc., (See *Joshua* X, 13.) The sun was caused by God to stand still to enable Joshua to vanquish the Amorites !

At his death, i.e. at the death of Jesus.

The devil....it, A common Christian theory about *Oracles* was that they were inspired by Satan. Satan was himself said to have given an *Oracle* response to *Augustus*, which was to the effect that "the Hebrew child, God Himself, (i.e. Jesus) bids me leave my seat and return to Hell."

Chronicle of Hester, The Book of Esther in the Old Testament, which is continued in the Jewish *Apocrypha*. Esther was a Jewess and wife of the Persian King, Ahasuerus.

Daniel, The Book of Daniel in the old Testament, together with stories etc. about him in the Jewish Apocrypha.

Megasthenes, Greek historian who was ambassador of Seleucus Nicanor at the court of King Chandragupta in India about 300 B. C. His work on India in four books is one of the earliest sources for the history of Ancient India.

Herodotus, called the father of History, lived at Athens and wrote the history of the wars between the Greeks and the Persians.

A piece of Justin etc., *Justinus* (of uncertain date) was a Roman historian, who in the 3rd or 4th century wrote a history of the

world down to the Roman conquest of the east, based on the lost work of Trogus Pompeius.

P. 56. *Deceitful vizards,* Deceitful masks i.e. appearances.

Moses....also, Moses is reputed to have written the first five books of the old Testament, called the Pentateuch. The last of these is *Deuteronomy.* If Moses himself wrote the last (34th) chapter of *Deuteronomy,* it will be right to say, that he has written about his own death.

SECT. XXX

Doubtful conceit etc., All doubt as to the reality of spirits and witches.

Destroy the ladder and scale of creatures, Put an end to the fact that there is a graduated scale in living beings, and therefore above man there must be some beings of a spiritual order. This is explained by Browne's remarks in Sect. XXXIII and XXXIV.

For my ....there are witches, (Cf. Introduction : Browne's *Life and Works.*) It is not known what proofs Browne had about the existence of witches, but he solemnly believed in their existence and swore to it in a trial before Sir Matthew Hale in 1664. (See Report of the trial in Hutchinson's *Essay on Witchcraft.*)

In this belief, Browne keeps company with such distinguished men as Bacon, Sir Matthew Hale, Richard Baxter the Nonconformist preacher, Dr. Henry More and many others.

Obliquely, In an indirect way.

Nor have the power to be so much as witches, They have less power than the witches to see spirits.

The devil .... witchcraft, In their scepticism about spirits, Satan already has them in his grasp, for this sin of scepticism is as bad as that of witchcraft.

To appear .... them, If the devil were to show himself to them, they would be converted to religion and so be lost to the devil.

The legerdemain of changelings, The sleight of hand by which the devil changes infants in their cradles, taking away fine,

healthy babies and leaving sickly ones in their place. The wicked fairies were supposed to be guilty of this practice and there were many popular superstitions and legends about this belief. Shakespeare takes up the belief in *A Midsummer Night's Dream.*

P. 57 *Transformation .... beasts,* Illustrated by the story of Circe, and in Milton's *Comus.*

Transpeciate, Transform. (This word is a pure coinage of Browne's).

Stones into bread, See *Matthew* IV, 3.

Carnality, Sensuality ; sexual lust.

Veneries, Venereal desires.

Generation, Production of offspring.

Anti-christ .... Dan, This strange opinion prevailed in early Christianity. See St. Augustine.

De Anti Christo, " Anti-Christ " is the great enemy of Christ, always expected to appear by the early Church. The Protestants applied the term to the Pope. Dan was a son of Jacob, and the founder of a tribe of Israel. Jacob described him prophetically as an adder or a serpent. (See *Genesis XLIX,* 16, 17).

The devil .... some men etc., Some people seem mad, on account of the obsession of spirits, others on account of melancholy. Burton in his *Anatomy of Melancholy* accepted both these types of madness, that due to Melancholy being, according to him mostly due to Love.

The maid of Germany, She is said to have lived without food, on the smell of a rose. Nothing else is known about her. Obviously Browne supposes her to have pretended supernatural powers.

SECT. XXXI

Empirically, Merely by observation.

Actives, Active principles.

P. 58. *Passives,* Passive principles.

Derived to one another, Communicated to one another.

What invented .... magic, That which is based on human reason is Philosophy, that which comes from the devil is magic.

Paracelsus, See notes to Sect. XIX. He wrote on Alchemy, Astrology etc. Here the reference is supposed to be to his treatise *De Imaginibus.*

Ascendens ... naturae, (*Latin*), meaning "Soaring up into the star-studded sky, it (i.e. the angel) unveils to inquirers the wonders of nature."

Ominous prognostics, Portents etc. that foreshadow the coming ruin.

SECT. XXXII

It was the opinion of Plato, See Plato's *Timaeus* and *Parmenides,* where this opinion is expressed.

Hermetical philosophers, The alchemists like Paracelsus.

If there .... them all, If the individuals of a species have a common nature that makes them as one, why should not the different species have something in common to them all?

P. 59. *This is .... world,* This is the spiritual heat by which (according to the Bible) the whole universe was created in six days.

SECT. XXXIII

P. 60. *An old one of Pythagoras and Plato,* In Plato the opinion is expressed in the *Phaedo.* That the same is the view of Plato and Pythagoras is affirmed by the Platonist Apuleius in his *De Deo Socratis.*

Metaphysics of their nature, Philosophy about their nature.

P. 61. *The first definition of Porphyry,* Porphyry laid down that "essences are rational and immortal." Porphyry died at Rome about 305 A. D. He was a Greek neo-Platonist whose treatise against Christianity was destroyed by order of the Emperor Theodosius.

Ascribe unto them, Ascribe to the angels.

Extemporary knowledge, Intuitive knowledge; knowledge without study or preparation.

Specifical difference, accident and properties, The well-known terms in Logic, viz. Differentia, Accident (Separable and Inseparable) and Property (or peculiar qualities).

Probabilities .... them, What we think merely as probable, is like proved and demonstrated truth to the angels.

Hypostasis, Distinctive substance.

Numerical form or *Numerical self,* Browne means those qualities which don't merely mark an individual as a member of a species (which he calls "specifical") but those which mark its rank or number in the species.

Informs, Animates.

Habakkuk .... den, The reference is to the Hebrew Apocryphal account of the destruction of the gods Bel and Dagon.

Philip to Azotus, See Acts VIII, 26 to 40. Philip was taken away from the south of Jerusalem miles away to Azotus in the north-east.

Secret conveyance, Secret power of conveying.

P. 62. *Invocation of saints,* Calling upon saints in prayer.

At the conversion etc., See *Luke,* XV, 10.

With those in that great Father, (Probably) with St. Augustine in his remarks in *De Civitate,* XI, 9, 19 (as Keck explains) or with St. Crysostom in his *Homilies.*

Fiat lux, God's decree, "Let there be light" as in *Genesis* I, 3.

SECT. XXXIV

Magisterial .... Creators, The angels may be said to be the best and most perfect examples of the Creator's art.

Actually existing what we are etc., The meaning is obscure, but the Latin translation makes the meaning plainer :—The angels are already that which we hope and think to become sometime in the future.

Amphibious, Capable of living a double life, viz. material and spiritual.

P. 63. *Upon record .... Scripture,* See *Genesis* I, 27 & II, 7.

Amphibium, A being invested with two lives, material and spiritual.

Whereof .... description, i.e. in his description of the Creation.

Of the other so obscurely, The suggestion is that there is a mystic and allegorical significance in Moses' story of Creation besides the literal meaning.

Moses .... Egyptians, Moses was brought up in Egypt by the daughter of the Pharaoh, and so must have learnt something of the hieroglyphic mysteries of the Egyptians.

SECT. XXXV

P. 64. *The first moveable,* The Primum Mobile of the Ptolemaic Hypothesis, the motion of which communicated motion to the other spheres.

Do but extract .... bodies, Only take away from bodies their mass.

Ubiquitary, That which is present everywhere.

Determinate mansion, Any fixed abode.

Those purer creatures, The angels.

Sublunary, Earthly.

P. 65. *Aristotle with all his philosophy etc.,* In *De Coelo,* Aristotle argues against the existence of other worlds.

Whatever .... God, Creating something out of nothing is creating what is opposed to Reality and therefore opposed to God, since God is the only Reality.

The only .... distinction, God only truly exists, other things exist in a relative sense, i.e. with a reservation, which distinguishes them from the original Reality, which is God.

Conformant unto, In agreement with.

Generation .... Creation, Not only is reproduction but creation also is founded on opposition to Reality.

God .... nothing, God being the only reality at the bottom of all things is not really opposed to anything.

Omneity informed nullity etc., The all-comprehensive one animated non-existence.

SECT. XXXVI

As the Text describes it, See *Genesis* II, 7.

P. 66. *Two affections,* Two qualities, viz., immortality and incorruptibility.

Flat affirmative of Plato, Viz. in *Phaedo, Timaeus,* and *Phaedrus.*

Not a negative from Aristotle, Vide Aristotle : De Anima, I, 2.

Another scruple, Viz. whether the soul is transferred from the parents, or created by God.

Auditories, Lecture rooms.

Indifferency, Equipoise.

Not Paracelsus mind, Paracelsus claimed to be able to make a human being, without sex union of man and woman.

Traduction, Propagation ; derivation from one of the same kind.

Antimetathesis, (Rhetorical term) Inversion of the members of an antithesis.

Creando infunditur etc., (Latin), In creating there is diffusion, in diffusion there is the act of creation. (This is of course an Antithesis, and the order of words is transposed).

Equivocal, Doubtful (as to whether the offspring will be man or beast).

P. 67. *Improper organs,* Unseemly forms.

Crasis, Constitution.

Reduced, Compelled.

SECT. XXXVII

P. 68. *Resurrection,* A typical Shemitic belief common to the Jews with other Shemitic beliefs that on the Day of Judgment all the souls of all the dead would rise up from their graves.

All flesh is grass, Biblical saying often quoted. (See *Isaiah* XL, 6.)

Carnified, (A coinage of Browne), Turned into flesh.

Anthropophagi, Cannibals.

Hath .... trenchers, Has been served to us at dinner.

Lot's wife, (See *Genesis* XIX, 26). She was changed into a pillar of salt when Sodom and Gomorrah were destroyed.

Nebuchadnezzar. Chaldaean King of Babylon and conqueror of Palestine. See *Daniel* IV, 33. (A voice from heaven said he would have to eat grass like oxen.)

Materialled unto life, Materialised form into life or substance.

Neither .... corruption, Neither turn into their opposite, viz., matter, nor get corrupted.

P. 69. *Apparitions .... Devils,* This was the considered opinion of St. Augustine. (*De Cura Pro Mortuis,* Chapter X). He thought the wandering spirits were not souls of the dead, but demons.

Dormitories of the dead, The sleeping apartments where the dead lie.

Over Adam etc., Satan's victory over Adam, the subject of Milton's Epic.

SECT. XXXVIII

O Adam, quid fecisti?, (Latin) O Adam, what have you done?

Ligaments, Ties.

Anatomies, skeletons, Skeletons and mummies. (So Dr. Greenhill explains).

Vespilloes, Corpse-bearers.

P. 70. *Reasonable moderator,* Death is so called, because he is impartial to all, like the "moderator" (i.e. umpire or arbitrator) in academic debates.

That he is too .... come, If a Christian is daunted at death he is guilty of one of two things, either he loves this life too much, or he is in despair about the future life, the life after death. Thus there would be something wrong about his Christian faith.

SECT. XXXIX

P. 71. *Some divines,* Viz. such as Augustine.

Not yet .... reason, This view, it is said, Browne urged in a book now lost. It was a *Dialogue between two twins in the womb, respecting the world into which they were going!*

Secondine, Secundines; the afterbirth.

That ineffable place of Paul, etc. See 2 *Corinthians* XII, 4 & 1 *Corinthians* XIII, 12 & 1 *Corinthians* XV, 50.

That proper ubi, The proper habitation ("Ubi" is a Latin adverb meaning "where" but Browne uses it as a substantive meaning a "habitation.").

P. 72. *The Philosopher's Stone,* The dream of the Alchemist, who expected by its touch to turn baser metals into gold!

Perfect exaltation of gold, This means the "purification" or "refinement" of gold.

SECT. XL

Prey upon us, i.e. after our death.

This very conceit, This very idea. (This word "conceit" is a favourite word with Browne.)

I had perished, I would have perished.

Lectures of mortality, Discourses on death.

Quantum mutatus ab illo, How much changed from his former self. [This is an expression quoted from Virgil's *Aeneid,* II, 274.]

SECT. XLI

P. 73. *Seem to outlive themselves,* This is illustrated by Cicero's *Dream of Scipio.* (*De Republica* I, 6).

Conceit and counterfeit subsisting etc., This idea of existing only in the imagination of our descendants.

Unworthy the desires, Unworthy *of* the desires.

The Testament of Diogenes, Diogenes the Cynic is said to have desired his friends not to bury him, but to hang him up with a staff in his hand to fright away the crows. (Cf: Cicero: "Tusculan Disputations" I, 43).

Rodomontado, Rhodomontade; vainglorious remarks, viz., in *Pharsalia,* VII, 819: The literal meaning of Lucan's verse is: "He is covered by the sky who has not a tomb." Lucan who lived in the first century A. D. was a republican in his convictions.

Temper (of crows) is Temperament of crows etc., (crows, ravens, etc. are believed to have long lives).

P. 74. *Nor .... Flood,* before the Flood, as the Old Testament tells us, people had long lives, some living for centuries,

I do not envy etc., Here Browne is referring to Theophrastus, of whom it is said that he accused Nature of giving a long life

to those to whom it was no use, and a brief one to men, to whom a long life would be so useful.

Outlive a jubilee, Survive beyond fifty years : (*Jubilee* was a Jewish computation for fifty years.)

One revolution of Saturn, This requires a period of 30 years. (Browne means he is not yet 30 years of age, (when he is writing *Religio Medici* in 1635.)

Excepting one, Except one King, viz., Christian IV of Denmark, who reigned from 1588 to 1647.

Contemporary to three Emperors etc., Browne was contemporary to three emperors of Germany, viz. Rodolph II, Matthias and Ferdinand II. He was also contemporary to four grand Signiors viz. Achmet I, Mustapha I, Othman II, and Amurath I

Grand Signiors, Turkish emperors.

As many popes, Viz. Leo VI, Paul V, Gregory XV, and Urban VIII.

I have shaken .... delight, I have bidden farewell to ; I have taken leave of.

In my .... days, In the summer of my youth. "Canicular" days are the season when the Dog-star appears.

Canicular days, The dog days, days of extreme warmth (Metaphorically=for the time of early manhood).

Pantaloons and antics, Buffoons in pantomime.

SECT. XLII

Run on .... hereafter, Run on into old age on earth only to run back into youth in the next world.

Implore .... Methuselah, Pray for the long life of Methuselah. (See Notes to Sect. XXII. Methuselah lived to 969 years according to *Genesis* V, 27.)

Incurvate, Make crooked (opposite to "rectify" which means to "make straight.")

P. 75. *Not upon Cicero's ground,* Not for the reason stated by Cicero in his Epistles XXIV, 24. Cicero said "I don't regret that I have lived my life : for I have lived in such a way that I could scarcely think myself to have lived in vain." Marcus

Tullius Cicero, (106 B.C.—43 B.C.), Roman orator, philosopher, statesman and man of letters is the greatest prose writer in Latin Literature, but made his mark by oratory. His poetry has been referred to by Browne in a former section.

Vitiosity, Viciousness.

P. 76. *Aeson's bath*, Aeson, father of Jason, was restored to youth by the arts of Medea. He was bathed by her in water medicated with certain drugs etc. as described by Ovid in his *Metamorphoses*, VII, 2.

Produce, Prolong.

SECT. XLIII

Able temper, Sound constitution.

Radical humour etc., Browne is thinking in terms of the old Greek medical theory of the humours, viz.: phlegm, choler (or bile), blood and melancholy, which, according to excess or defect, shaped the personality and character of a man. The modern theory of the "Endocrine glands" revives the old theory in a new form altogether.

The radical balsam, The elixir vital.

Abel, Abel and Cain were the sons of Adam and Eve. Cain murdered Abel.

Glome or bottom of his days, Both "glome" and "bottom" in this context mean a "ball of yarn or worsted." Life is conceived by Browne to be like a ball of thread or yarn, or silk slowly unwound. Cf. the expression "thread of his own days" in Part II Sect. IV. and the expression "twines the thread of life" just below.

Last and general .... thousand, The Jewish Talmud assigns to Elias the rabbinical tradition that the world will last 6000 years.

Last and general fever, The future destruction of the world by fire.

Twines ....life, See above note on "glome or bottom of our days."

Some other ... Nature, Viz. God.

P. 77. *By a pencil*, Metaphor from painting.

SECT. XLIV

I am much taken with, I like very much.

Two verses of Lucan, (From the *Pharsalia* IV, 519). The verses may be thus translated : " And the gods conceal from those about to enter on life that it is fortunate to die, in order to harden them for living", or as Browne translates : " The gods conceal from us the happiness of death in order to make us reconciled to life ".

His Stoical genius, Lucan, like most Roman republicans, was a Stoic.

Philosophy of Zeno, viz. : the Stoic philosophy. Zeno, the founder of the Stoic School of philosophy lived about the 4th century B.C.

Delivered in a pulpit, i.e., If delivered in a pulpit.

Yet herein .... assassin, They take an extreme view in permitting a man to commit suicide.

Suicide of Cato, Marcus Porcius Cato, the republican, and stern follower of the Stoic philosophy, was besieged by Julius Caesar in 46 B. C. and after the battle of Thapsus committed suicide. Addison wrote a tragedy on this subject, called *Cato,* produced in 1713. He was eulogised by Cicero and Lucan.

This indeed life, This is a beautifully expressed thought, in epigrammatic terms.

Curtius, Scævola, Codrus, Names of great patriots, the first two from Roman history, the third from that of Athens. Curtius in 352 B. C. leapt with his horse into a chasm that had appeared in the Roman Forum in order to please the gods. The oracles had said the chasm would not be filled up until the Romans sacrificed into it something that was most precious to Rome. Curtius thought an armed horse-soldier was something most precious to Rome and so sacrificed himself with his arms to please the gods. Scævola put his hand into the fire to convince the invader, King Porsena, of Roman courage. In 1068 B.C. Codrus, the last King of Athens, sacrificed himself to save his country from the Dorians.

Job, The hero of a book in the Old Testament that bears his name. After great prosperity he was suddenly overtaken by dire calamities. *Job* stands in literature as a type of the man of patience in the midst of serious misfortunes.

No torture to the rack of a disease, No suffering *comparable to* the agonies caused by disease.

No any .... to it, In death itself there is no cruel dagger or torture as in the disease that brings about death.

Emori nolo etc., (Quoted from Epicharmus in Cicero's Tusculan Disputations I, 1.) I don't wish to die, but I don't care if I am dead.

P. 78. *Were I....religion*, If I were a pagan like Julius Caesar. [Suetonius in his *Life* of *Julius Caesar* reports to us that it was a saying of Julius Caesar, that death is best when it is unexpected.]

We are beholden, (There is an important variant Reading, "we are *beholding*.) We are indebted.

He doth not kill us i.e. *that* he does not kill us.

God would not .... immortal, This refers to the example of Jesus Christ. (The punctuation adopted here is that followed by Dr. Greenhill.)

From that, the misery. From that, viz. the misery etc.

Undertook not that was immortal. Did not undertake *that which* was immortal.

Optics, Visual power.

The first day of our jubilee is death, Death is the first day of our deliverance or rejoicing.

P. 79. *The Stoic is in the right* i.e., The Stoic is right in his view that death is the last of pains, and should not be feared.

We are .... own, We are above all misfortunes, as long as death is *in our power*.

SECT. XLV

Mortification, Bringing fleshly passions under subjection by self-denial or discipline.

Horae combustal, The time when the moon is in conjunction with the sun and obscured by it is called by astrologers "horæ compustæ" i.e., "burnt hours." Here the meaning is "time which in merely wasted in vain."

Apparition, Appearance without reality.

Acceptions, Recognised meaning.

Memento mori, (Latin). Remember you have to die.

Memento ....novissima, Remember the four last points (viz. death, judgment etc.)

Judgment, The last day of God's Judgment.

Rhadamanth, Rhadamanthus, one of the three judges in the lower world, according to Greek Mythology. Rhadamanthus was the brother of Minos.

P. 80. *Sibyl*, Pagan prophetess.

Destruction .... say, It was a part of Stoic metaphysics that the world is periodically destroyed by fire, after which the procession of events starts once again exactly in the same way as before. Lucan, as a Stoic, expresses the Stoic thought.

Lucan, Cf. Pharsalia, VII, 8th.

Communis mundo etc., (Latin). One common conflagration awaits all the universe, which will mingle the stars with our bones.

Its own principles, Its own constituent parts.

Mutation, Change.

Those six days .... described, Viz., in "Genesis" where the Creation is described as having gone on for six days.

Some believe that there went not etc., The opinion is expressed by St. Augustine in *De Civitate Dei*.

SECT. XLVI

P. 81. *Convincible and statute madness*, Madness that can be proved (i.e. convincible) and defined by statute.

But also .... impiety, Since Jesus Christ told his disciples that "of that day and hour knoweth no man, not the angels of heaven." (*Matthew* XXIV, 36).

How shall .... years i.e., The statement in the Talmud that the world will be destroyed in six thousand years.

Elias, Elijah.

Which God .... angels, *Vide*, as above, *Matthew* XXIV, 36.

It had been .... quære, It would have been an excellent question.

To have .... Delphi, To have proposed (or asked) of the oracle of Delphi. It was sacred to Apollo. But the early Chris-

tians believe that the oracle was inspired by Satan. Hence the expression "*devil of* Delphos." The proper name is *Delphi*, not *Delphos* as used by Browne.

Amphibology, A phrase capable of a two-fold interpretation, as many of the answers of these oracles were, so that whatever event happened the oracle could prove itself right !

In those days there shall come etc., See *Matthew* XXIV, 6.

There shall be signs, See *Luke* XXI, 25.

Like a thief etc., See 1 *Thessalians* V, 2.

P. 82. *Item of his coming*. A hint of his coming.

The revelation, of Anti-Christ, Viz., that Anti-Christ will appear before the end of the world.

Common compute, Common computation.

I am half....divinity, I think this Anti-Christ is as insoluble a problem in theology as the Philosopher's stone is in Alchemy.

Expostulation, Remonstrance.

Cannot escape etc., Will have to remonstrate like the saints under the altar.

Quousque, Domine? How long, Oh Lord? (See Revelation, VI, 10) meaning, How long, Oh Lord, will it be for Your victory?

The saints under the altar, The reference is again to *Revelation*, VI, 9. St. John saw some saints who were Christian martyrs under the altar of God.

That great Jubilee, That great deliverance.

SECT. XLVII

Recompensive Justice, Retributive justice, as opposed for instance to Distributive Justice.

Last scene......piece, (Metaphorical language, as if the whole event were a drama). The last scene, in which all the characters are playing a part, completing the final conclusion and denouement of the drama of all mankind.

Ipsa sui pretium virtus sibi, (Latin from *Claudian*), Virtue is her own reward.

P. 83. *Notable....goodness*, Very difficult to practise in a constant manner.

Seneca, Lucius Seneca (died 65 A.D.) was a moral philosopher and tutor to the Emperor Nero. He checked Nero's vices, but was accused of participation in a conspiracy and was ordered to take his own life, which he did with true stoic courage. He also wrote about nine tragedies, which had great influence on Elizabethan Drama, but the opinion is sometimes expressed that the tragedian was a different man from the philosopher.

Artifice of Seneca, See Seneca in (Epistles, I, 11.)

Impieties of Lucian etc., Lucian and Euripides traversed pagan mythology, while Julian the Apostate (331-363 A.D.) set aside Christianity and reverted to the pagan gods. For LUCIAN, see notes to Sect. XX. Euripides was unsparingly denounced by Aristophanes in his *Frogs* as an atheist. Julian was brought up as a Christian, but re-established the pagan mythology on becoming Emperor in 361 A.D.

SECT. XLVIII

P. 84. *Conversion....north,* The deflection of the magnetic needle to the north.

Resurrection and revivification of mercury, Restoration of mercury to its former state.

P. 85. *From the ashes....plant,* This experiment had an attraction for Browne. On this "*Paligenesis,*" as it is called, Disraeli's *Curiosities of Literature* has an interesting passage.

Not in a dream, as Ezekiel, See *Ezekiel,* chapter XXXVII.

SECT. XLIX

Necessary mansions, Inevitable dwelling places.

P. 86. *That elegant Apostle,* St. Paul as seen in 2 *Corinthians,* XII, 2.

Hath left but a negative description, See I *Corinthians* II, 9.

Which neither eye etc., See I *Corinthians* II, 9.

St. John's description, See *Revelation,* XXI.

The soul of man....anywhere, Cf. Milton's '*Paradise Lost*' I, 253, "The mind is in its own place, and of itself can make A heaven of Hell, a Hell of Heaven." Also compare Browne's

remark in section LI, viz. : "Every devil is a Hell to himself."

Whether in the body, or out of the body, Cf. 2 Corinthians XII, 2-4.

Empyreal, Empyrean ; the highest heaven supposed to be pure element of fire, and placed beyond the planetary sphere.

P. 87. *A quasi vacuity*, A vacuity or void, as it were.

Moses....absurdity, See *Exodus*, XXXIII, 18.

Dives, Richman.

Lazarus, A very poor man whom Christ raised from the dead. See *John* XI.

Abraham's bosom, See Part I, sect. XI, page 25 and notes thereon.

According to Aristotle's philosophy, i.e. as expounded by Aristotle in his Physics.

SECT. L.

P. 88. *Purify the substance of a soul*, Considering this difficulty, some have argued that the fallen angels must have bodies, for if they were only spirit they would have been long since purified in Hell-fire.

Flames of sulphur, See *Revelation*, XXI, 8..

Textuary in divinity, Persons to be appealed to as an authority, in theological matters.

Those flames....scripture, See *Psalms* CVI, 18 ; *Luke* XVI, 24.

Make good, Prove.

Fall in liquation, Get melted.

Moses....calf, See *Exodus* XXXII, 20.

P. 89. *Vitrification*, Reduction of a body into glass.

The world in its epitome, The world as represented in man.

Things that are in posse, Things that may be possibly realized, and are in a potential state.

P. 90. *Little compendium of the sixth day*, Man. According to *Genesis*, God made man on the 6th day of Creation.

SECT. LI

P. 90. *In the....heaven*, i.e. in heightened terms of an earthly conception. The Paradise of the Muslim religion often appears like a gorgeous pleasure-ground, with beautiful "houris" etc.

Drums, Makes a din.

Terrible piece, Terrible part. (The word "piece" is a favourite word with Browne, and he uses it often sometimes on the same page. It is used by him in slightly different senses.)

In diameter with, In comparison with.

Translated (divinity), Transferred.

Purlieu, District.

Flaming mountains, Volcanoes like Etna, Vesuvius etc.

Anaxagoras's......worlds, It is suggested that "Anaxagoras" is either a mistake or a misprint for *Anaxarchus.* It was not Anaxagoras, but Anaxarchus who held the view that there were infinite worlds. It is said that on hearing this opinion of Anaxarchus, Alexander, the Great, shed tears, reflecting that his conquests could not extend to other worlds than ours.

Lucifer, Satan.

Legion, i.e. A legion of devils or evil passions.

For every devil....himself, Cf. Browne's remark in section XLIX, "The soul of man may be in heaven anywhere."

There were....seven devils, Luke VIII, 2, tells us that Christ expelled seven devils out of her.

Magdalene, Mary Magdalene, faithful female follower of Christ.

In his own ubi, In his own habitations. (*Ubi* is a Latin word)

Needs not.....him, Does not require the misery of going beyond the limits of his own body.

The Devil....like, If it were in Satan's power, he would have liked to commit suicide. But he cannot as he is a spirit and cannot die.

P. 91. *Impassible,* Exempted from suffering and decay.

SECT. LII

To be deprived of them, i.e. to be deprived of those joys (i.e. the joys of heaven.)

That terrible term, viz., hell.

Before .... afraid thereof, Before (i.e., rather than) his judgments make me afraid of my sins.

There....heaven, That any man by mere terror of hell was able to reach heaven.

Without a hell, Without fear of hell.

Other mercenaries etc., Those who are afraid of hell and out of this fear kneel to God, are but like hireling slaves, not free souls doing loyal service to God.

SECT. LIII

P. 92. *Whether out....I know not,* Whether this is so on account of the fact that I am prepossessed in favour of God, or whether I have a transformed or reversed idea of God's mercies, I cannot say.

Those which others....affection, Things which other people take to be misfortunes etc., have always proved to me to have been disguised forms of God's favour.

Apprehend truly, To have a true conception or understanding of.

Not to....attributes, Not to confuse God's Justice with His Mercy.

Piece of wisdom, piece of logic, Notice the frequency with which the word "piece" is used on the same page. As remarked before the word "piece" is a favourite term with Browne. Another favourite term is "conceive", "conceit." "Piece of logic" may be explained as "an instance or example of logic." In section XV, the word "piece" occurs three times, and in section XIV, Browne had used the word just two lines from the end (viz. : *piece* of philosophy.)

An honest piece....mercies, It is not a bad sort of logic, which proceeds to argue about God's doings in such a way as to interpret even this justice as His mercy.

Better....deserve, God is more merciful to the worst of men than He is to the best of men, in proportion to their deservings.

And to say....absurdity, It may appear a paradox and yet it is true to say that God does not punish anyone on earth.

Repine, Murmur at ; feel discontented.

Our offences being mortal, etc., Our sin is of a deadly character, and if God, instead of inflicting death or sentencing us to hell, were just to afflict us with a loss, misfortune, or disease, that can hardly be called a punishment.

Traverse and pass over, Probably used in the sense of "forgive."

P. 93. *The one ....demerits,* The reward of bliss in heaven is

far too kind for our deservings, and the punishment in hell is far too low for our sins.

SECT. LIV

Worthies and philosopher which died, etc. (Notice the use of "which" for "who," as often in Shakespeare and the *Authorised Version* of the Bible, 1611). Christian theology believed that even worthy men like Socrates and Cicero, who died before the birth of Jesus Christ would have no salvation.

Limbo, A region bordering on hell, where there is neither pleasure nor pain. Dante (*Inferno*) describes nine circles of Hell, some of which were subdivided. *Limbo,* according to Dante, is in the first circle. Souls of those who have lived virtuously, yet through lack of baptism cannot merit heaven are, according to Dante, in this Limbo. There was also another Limbo for infants who died before baptism.

What .... devils, The ancient pagan poets had fictions about the Furies and it will be wonderful if they find their fictions turned into truth and saw real furies in the devils of hell.

How strange .... of, They shall suffer on account of Adam's original sin (of disobedience to God's command in Paradise), the curse of which was inherited by them, and yet it will be odd, because these worthies never had heard about Adam during their life-time !

P. 94. *Perpend,* Weigh in the mind ; consider.

shall the vessel, etc., See *Romans* IX, 20.

Argue ... hell, Argue against God's final decree sentencing us to Hell or Heaven.

In their own kind, In the circle of human nature.

Prescript, Prescription ; direction.

Make it good how, Prove that ; establish the truth that.

SECT. LV

Aristotle .... ethics, Probably in dealing with Alexander the Great and his father Philip of Macedon, Aristotle must have played to some extent the part of a courtier wit and time-server. Aristotle is said to have been guilty of vanity in his clothes, and of unfaithfulness to his master, Alexander.

Phalaris's bull, A brazen bull, with a large, hollow belly in which Phalaris, King of Agrigentum (in Sicily) used to put in criminals and roast them by heating the bull from outside. It is said the inventor of the bull was the first victim !

Stoics that condemn passion. The Stoic idea was that man should cultivate the state of *apathea* or passionlessness.

Stone, stone in the kidney or bladder.

The sceptics etc., Their maxim was that nothing can be known. Consequently they could not be said to know even whether their conclusion that nothing can be known was true. Whoever thinks that nothing can be known, knows not his own conclusion, since he admits he knows nothing.

P. 95. *Diogenes*, Diogenes, the Cynic. He lived in a tub outside the city of Athens. See notes to Section VI and Section XLI, where his Testament is referred to.

More ambitious etc., This refers to the story of Alexander the Great meeting him, asking the philosopher whether he could do anything for him, when he asked him not to obstruct the sunshine.

Profound us deeper, Here " profound " is a verb (Cf. : " Profound farther " in Sect. XIV) and means " to plunge."

The Duke of Venice, The people of Venice held that Pope Alexander III confirmed their superiority over the Adriatic. Every year on Ascension Day, the Doge (i.e. Duke) of Venice, with the Senate, used formally to claim the sea as their spouse by casting a wedding ring in the water.

The philosopher .... sea, The reference is to Apollonius of Tyana. He threw into the sea a large amount of gold, saying, " I sink my wealth, not to be sunk by it."

Panoply, (Latin : *panoplia*) A full suit of armour.

Close ward, Close guard ; in a close state of defence.

Veney of another, " Veney " is " attack " or " hit " in fencing. The modern spelling is " venue." Cf. Shakespeare, *Merry Wives of Windsor*, I, 1, 298 : " three veneys for a dish of stewed prunes."

Wiser discretions, Men of good discretion.

Under heads, Persons of inferior capacity.

Virtuous by the book, virtuous formally ; virtuous according to regulation.

P. 96. *Chiron, A Centaur* (i.e. a being half man, half horse) who was a friend of Hercules and tutor of Peleus, Achilles, and Diomed.

I do desire that all, but yet, i.e. I desire that all should get salvation, but I can say that few will get it.

The passage strait etc., Cf. the scriptural saying : "strait is the gate and narrow the way that leadeth to heaven" (*Matthew*, VII. 14).

SECT. LVI

Strabo's cloak, etc. the "chlamys" or military cloak to which the ancient geographer, Strabo compared the habitable globe of his time in his Geography, II, 5.

Peregrinations, Wanderings ; travels.

Sessions .... councils, Many of the earliest councils of the Christian Church took place in Western Asia and Northern Africa.

In the ... of ours, While the Church in Europe was in a state of minority and infancy. "Nonage" means "infancy, minority."

Those Christians who are in a manner, etc., Browne is especially referring to those Christians who hold fast to their faith in spite of persecution etc. in Asia and Africa (e.g. like the Abyssinians) who are surrounded by Mahomedans.

Number ... saved, The number of people who will get final salvation is limited, but the number of those seeking or claiming it is large—i.e. not all who claim salvation can get it.

Yet take ... saved, Still if the conflicts and contradictory opinions of different sections are considered, scarcely any can be considered to win salvation [because one sect condemns the other to hell, and *vice versa.* So if these opinions were true, no one will be saved after-all !].

Sub-reformist and sectaries, Sub-sects of Protestants and Dissenters.

The atomist or familist, Religious sect known as the "family of love," which began to attract attention about 1575. The founder of the doctrine was a Dutchman named Henry Nicholas. Wilkin, in his edition of the book, thinks the two names refer to but one sect.

There must .... St. Peter, St. Peter, according to the Catholic Church, held the keys of the gates of Heaven. As different sects deny heaven to each other, each sect must have its own St. Peter. This is but a witty comment made by Browne.

SECT. LVII

P. 98. *Seeking .... devour,* The expression is suggested by 1 *Peter,* V, 8.

Sentence Solomon, Since Solomon lived in great pomp and luxury Augustine, on consideration of Psalms CXXVI and other texts thought Solomon could have no salvation: for the Psalm says: "They that sow in tears shall reap in joy." Solomon *sowed in joy,* and was bound to reap in tears.

SECT. LVIII

Pass through the eye of this needle, Referring to the scriptural texts: "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God." Matthew XX, 24.

Compellation, Appellation.

That name and...flock, See Luke XII, 32. "Little flock" stands for the small number of men who will enter the kingdom of God.

Hierarchies, Series of successive grades of higher rank.

SECT. LIX

P. 99. *The precept of St. Paul,* See *Philippians* II, 12.

Beneplacet of God, God's good will or decision.

Before Abraham was etc. See *St. John* VIII, 58. ("Jesus said unto them: Verily, verily, I say unto you, Before Abraham was, I AM").

That is, in the idea of God, Here we see Browne's Platonism. Plato's main doctrine was that each created thing first exists in the idea of God.

The world ... beginning, Highly philosophical doctrine in terms of Plato's theory of ideas.

Eve ... Cain, Before Cain was born of the womb of Eve, the birth of myself in idea had taken place in an abortive manner.

SECT. LX

Insolent zeals, Men of zeal and arbitrary ways.

Decry good works, The early Protestants from Luther downwards railed against the Catholic doctrine of "good works" and maintained that man would be "justified" by Faith only.

P. 100. *It was decreed by God etc.* See *Judges,* VII, 5.

Midianites, (See *Judges* VII, 5). A neighbouring tribe at war with the Jews in the time of Gideon, who defeated them.

If our saviour could object, Here "object" means "propose" or "urge".

PART II

SECT. I

P. 101. *That it comports etc.,* Other editors read "consorts" or "comforts". "Comports" can only mean "behaves".

Locusts and grasshoppers, Ancient Jews, Ethiopeans, Parthians and modern Arabs are all credited with the belief that they eat locusts,—it is doubtful, with what truth. But in any case, locusts and grasshoppers formed a part of the food on which John the Baptist lived in the desert. See *Mark* I, 6.

Salamander, Browne must be taken to talk nonsense, if he means by "salamander" the imaginary creature that was supposed to live in fire. But he might mean "newts," which were long supposed to be poisonous.

P. 102. *Born in the eighth climate,* i.e. in a region between two circles parallel to the equator. Mandeville considered there were seven climates corresponding to the seven planets. The eighth climate was that of the fixed stars, and ninth that of the *Primum Mobile.* An old geographical theory was that England was lying in the eighth climate.

The multitude, In this Browne agrees with Horace, who wrote "Odi profanum vulgus et arceo," i.e. "I hate the mob and keep off from it."

Hydra, Water-snake killed by Hercules. The "hydra" had many heads, and so has the mob. Massinger, in one of his plays, calls the mob, "the many headed monster", and so does Sir Philip Sidney in his *Arcadia,* Book II and Shakespeare in *Coriolanus,* II, 3 has the expression, "many headed multitude."

Set down ... scripture, Cf. the complaint in *Psalms* II, 1, "Why do the heathen rage etc." and Solomon's *Proverbs* I, 7, I. 22, etc. Proverbs I, 7 says "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of knowledge, but fools despise wisdom and instruction."

Canonical scripture, scripture accepted as the Holy Canon of the Bible.

A rabble ... gentry, It was a saying of Socrates that a man is known by his character; not by his birth or social position.

Gentry, The gentlemanly class.

Plebeian heads, Vulgar persons.

Men ... infirmities, Men who are no higher than ordinary mechanics, the only difference being that they are wealthy and their wealth hides the defects of their intellects. For the remarks "their purses compound for their follies", compare Horace's remark in *Epistles* I, 6, 37, "Queen Cash gives the fools both high birth and beauty."

P. 103. *Casting accounts,* Making calculations.

Ignorant Doradoes, Ignorant rich men ("Dorado" in Spanish from "dorar" to gild).

Forlorn person, Insignificant person.

Filed, Ranked.

Politics, Governments.

Till corruption .... thing, Another instance of a very long sentence in the Latin style, ending with a number of absolute clauses. (See comments on this sentence in the *Introduction*).

SECT. II

Inoculation ...education, Inoculation and grafting are devices by which a skilled gardener trains superior quality of a flower or fruit-tree upon the stem of an inferior tree. It is an artificial growing, not natural. Virtues acquired by education are similarly a matter of art. They are not so strong as when they grow by

nature. "Graff" is "graft". The use of the word "inoculation" in medicine was not known in Browne's time. "Inoculation" meant engrafting the *bud* of one tree upon another like the process in the culture of roses, familiarly known as "budding."

Moralists, Those who follow *morality* without reference to *religion*.

P. 104. *Impulsions*, Impulses.

Oweth more ... reason, An act that owes its source more to suffering than to reason.

Bespeak, stipulate for.

Eleemosynaries, Beggars.

P. 105. *Phytognomy*. Knowledge of the nature of plants from their outward forms, just as "physiognomy" means knowledge of the nature and character of a man from his face and features. The word "Phytognomy" is apparently a coinage of Browne from the Greek.

As signs or bushes etc., The reference is to the practice of vintners to adorn their shop with an ivy tuft or ivy garland, to attract customers. Hence the proverb: "good wine needs no bush" which Shakespeare uses in the Epilogue to *As You Like It*.

God calls the stars, See *Psalms* CXLVII, 4.

Adam assigned etc., See *Genesis* II, 19-20.

A la volée, (French) At random; without purpose. (The editions of 1642 read "a Lavole"! which has no sense.

Chiromancy, Palmistry.

Vagabond Egyptian, The gipsies. They were supposed to have gone to Europe through Egypt. Their language shows they originally migrated from India. For instance, they use the word "Pani" for water.

P. 106. *Two several things*, Two separate things.

SECT. III

P. 107. *Lazarus*, See notes to Part I, Sect. XLIX and *John* XI.
Reserved and caitiff, Stingy and niggardly.
Caitiff, Niggardly; mean-spirited.

Community (in Learning), A sharing in common.

I study not .... only, Browne ranges himself in character with Chaucer's famous *Clerk of Oxford*, who is described in the *Prologue* to *The Canterbury Tales*, as taking delight in teaching.

P. 108. *Batrachomyomachia*, (Greek) Battle between the frogs and mice, a pseudo-Homeric poem. Here the term is used for an absurdly foolish quarrel.

Hot skirmish .... Lucian, The reference is to Lucian's dialogue, *Judicium Vocalium*, the Court Trial of the vowels in which the Vowels, as judges, hear the complaint of Sigma (the Greek Letter S) against Tau, (the Greek letter T) that the letter has deprived him of words that really should be in his ranks.

P. 109. *Genitive case in Jupiter*, Viz. whether the genitive of "Jupiter" should be *Jovis* or *Jupiteris* (or *Jupitris*) Browne had a note in his edition of 1643 that according to Priscian, the *proper* genitive of Jupiter is *Jupiteris* or *Jupitris*. Latin authors use the genitive form *Jovis*.

Salve .... Priscian, Break their own heads to save that of the grammarian, Priscian. Browne here expresses the opinion that grammatical controversies breed needless rancour.

Priscian, Priscianus Caesariensis, Latin grammarian, flourished about 450 A. D. He wrote a Grammar, which he dedicated to his patron, the consul Julianus.

Si foret .... Democritus, From HORACE, *Epistles* II, 1, 194. The meaning is : "If Democritus were on earth, he would laugh." Democritus was called the "Laughing Philosopher", as opposed to Heraclitus, called the "Weeping Philosopher." Democritus was an Atomist. He believed the world, including the human soul, was made of atoms. This atomic philosophy was also the basis of the physics of Epicurus.

Militants, Disputants.

Their tongues .... razors, With their tongues, they deliver stabbing blows against each other, sharper than the razor of Actius or Attus. Attus Naevius being challenged to the feat by King Tarquinius Priscus, the fifth King of Rome, cut through a whetstone with his sharp razor. (See Livy, I, 36).

Their pens .... thunder, Illustrations of these bitter but useless controversies are given by Disraeli in his *Curiosities of Literature.*

Basilisco, A kind of ordnance or mounted gun. Shakespeare uses the word *basilisk* (1 Henry IV, II, 3) for "cannon". Another meaning of the word is a kind of fabulous dragon or serpent.

It is not .... succeeding ages, The reason why princes patronize learning is not merely because they feel enthusiasm for literature. It is rather because they wish to have their names celebrated by scholars and particularly in order to avoid being ridiculed and denounced by writers in times to come.

Patron, (The word is used here as a *verb*) Patronize.

These are the men i.e. Literary men are the persons who will moralize about the actions of the princes.

No reproach to the scandal etc., No reproach *comparable to* the scandal caused by history. ("Story" is used here in the sense of "history."

SECT. IV

P. 110. *Mysteries (and conditions)*, Trades or crafts (and conditions).

Conclude a habit, Infer a habit.

Le mutin Anglois etc., (French), The meaning of the verses is: "The Englishman is obstinate, the Scotsman is a bully, the Italian unclean, the Frenchman a fool, while the Roman is cowardly, the Gascon a thief, the Spaniard proud, and the German a drunkard."

St. Paul .... poet, (See *Titus* I, 12).

Upon quotation, St. Paul quotes, in support, a verse of the Cretan poet Epimenides, who was an epic poet. St. Paul probably quotes him from his work on Oracles, mentioned by St. Jerome.

It is as bloody etc., From one point of view the idea was as cruel as Nero's was in another matter. The allusion probably is to Nero's brutal reply, just before he set Rome on fire related by Suetonius in his Life of Nero, chapter 38. But the next sentence, "at one blow etc." seems to show that Browne is confused and is really referring to a remark of the third emperor Caligula (instead of Nero) who is reported by Suetonius to have said that

"he wished the people of Rome to have all got one neck that he might destroy them all at one blow." (Suetonius : *Caligula*, chapter 30.)

That thought to laugh etc., He was called the Laughing Philosopher (see notes to the last section).

Hypochondriac, Chronic sufferer from melancholy.

It moves not my spleen, It does not provoke me.

In their proper humours, In their particular turn of mind. (Cf. the title of Ben Jonson's play : "Every Man in His Humour.")

Not profaned unto, Not common to.

Contraries .... another, He means virtue and vice are contrary terms, but they are the life of one another. One has no reality without the other. One exists because of the other. *Without the other*, each thing is only an *idea*.

Virtue (abolish Vice) is an idea, (Cf. the above). If vice is abolished, virtue is only an idea. And vice versa. One has no real existence without the other.

The community ..... goodness, The fact that sin is so common does not detract from the value of virtue.

The major part, The majority.

P. 111. *In others, which remain untouched*, In others *who* remain untouched.

Railed into vice, Driven into vice by railing i.e., taunting, satirising etc.

Orators of goodness, Pleaders for goodness ; advocates of goodness.

Trajection, A mission.

Sensible species, A species perceptible by the senses.

P. 112. *Complexioned for humility*, Disposed by temperament to humility.

Non occides (Latin) Thou shalt not kill.

Every .... Atropos, Every man becomes his own destroyer. Atropos was the third of the three fates (or Parcae or Moirae). She snapped the thread of life.

Cain, He murdered his brother Abel.

The practice and example .... Abel, Adam saw the operation of death performed or illustrated in the case of his son Abel.

Theory, As opposed to "practice" used above.

SECT. V

Receive .... impostures, Though the plot of a tragedy is fictitious, Browne can feel sympathy for the sufferings of the characters in the play.

P. 113. *Greatest affliction for Job*, See *Job* XIX.

Discuss them, Shake them off; scatter them.

Damon and Pythias, Pair of friends under the tyranny of Dionysius I, king of Syracuse. One friend stood surety for the other who was to be executed, but wished to go to his native place to bid farewell to his family. His ship was delayed and the other friend was anxious to be executed in his friend's place and save his life. Dionysius was touched with pity and pardoned the offender.

Achilles and Patroclus, A noble pair of friends in Homer's *Iliad*.

P. 114. *Fifth commandment*, "Honour thy father and mother."

Even those .... life, Even my parents to whom I owe my life.

I never yet .... woman, This was written in 1635 before Browne's marriage.

Two natures in one person, viz. Christ who has both a human and a divine nature, according to orthodox Christianity.

Three persons in one nature, God the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost—the Christian "Trinity".

One soul in two bodies, The case of intimate friends, who are like one soul in two bodies.

SECT. VI

When I am from him i.e., when I am *away* from him.

P. 115. *The toll of a passing bell*, The bell sounded at the approach of death in the case of a sick person in a parish, that the parish people within hearing may pray for the passing soul.

P. 116. *The story of the Italian*, The story is that an Italian to take deeper revenge on his private enemy forced him to blaspheme God and then killed him before he should have time to repent, to make sure that he would go to hell!

The uncharitable votes etc., The voices or prayers of the powers of hell that have no sense of charity.

SECT. VII

P. 117. *Buffet St. Paul*, See 2 *Corinthians* XII, 7.

Plays at sharp with me, In this expression, "sharp" is a rapier or pointed weapon." "To play at sharp" is to "fight in earnest."

Battle of Lepanto, Fought between Don John of Austria and the Turks in 1571, a naval battle, the subject of Chesterton's famous Ballad.

Peccadillo, Slight fault (from Latin "pecco" = I sin).

Scape of infirmity, Negligent freak; escapade.

Original sin, i.e. the original sin of Adam's disobedience to God's command, the effects of which are (according to Christian belief) inherited by all his descendants.

My transgressions are epidemical, My faults are common to many.

From the .... corruption, Such as arise from the common frailty of human nature.

Humorous depravity of mind, Depravity which is the result of some special humour or idiosyncrasy.

Vitiosities, Forms of vice.

P. 118. *Monstrosity of nature*, Deviation from the regular order of nature.

Lecher, Lustful man.

That lecher .... statue, That lustful man who fell in love with a statue. The reference is to Pygmalion who fell in love with the statue of a beautiful woman he had made. The gods out of pity are said to have made her alive!

The constitution .... recreations, The nature of Tiberius Nero in his obscene or abominable amusements. "Spintrian" is a word not recognized by lexicographers and is probably derived from the Greek "spinther" meaning a "spark". "Nero" referred to here is not the Emperor Nero formerly referred to but "Tiberius Nero" the second emperor of Rome of whose vicious life, there is an account in chapter 43 of Suetonius's Life of Tiberius.

Quotidian infirmities, Daily weaknesses.

SECT. VIII

P. 119. *I thank God etc.*, This passage led Isaac Watts, the eminent divine to charge Browne with "arrogant temerity" in asserting his exemption from the parent-sin, pride. Watts attributed to these remarks a wider significance than Browne intended. Browne refers to literary pride and is justified in what he says of himself.

Father-sin, Pride is called father-sin, because it was the beginning of all sin—Satan fell from heaven on account of pride, and but for Satan's sin there would have been no occasion for man to sin. "By that Sin fell the angels."

Not .... would, Going beyond the boundaries of this world.

Add no feathers unto mine, Don't add to my pride.

Tower and Plume himself, Soar aloft and pride himself about.

Horace, The Latin lyric poet and satirist, so often referred to by Browne. He wrote under the patronage of Maecenas, the minister of the emperor, Augustus.

Jargon and patois, "Jargon" is the language of the uneducated and "patois" stands for provincial dialects.

Confusion of Babel, See *Genesis* XI. God demolished the tower of Babel in the land of Shinar and from that day arose the confusion of languages. Till then, says the Bible story, all men spoke one language.

Chorography, Description of the different regions.

P. 120. *The pointers*, The two stars in the Great Bear that point to the Pole Star.

Conceit .... me, Imagine himself a whole world above me.

Simpled, Botanized; Searched for "simples" or specimens of plants.

The opinion of Socrates, Socrates confessed that he only knew this that he did not know anything. See notes to Part I, Sect. LV, on the *Sceptics*, whose opinion was similar. See Plato's *Apology* (of Socrates) page 21.

Homer .... fishermen, The story is found in the lives of Homer, attributed to Herodotus and Plutarch. The story is that Homer could not answer a poser put to him by some fishermen and so

began to languish and die. Homer is of course the traditional author of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

Drown. . . . Euripus, Euripus is a narrow strait in Greece between Euboea and Boeotia, in which the tide of the sea is always flowing this way and that. It is here called the " flux and reflux " of Euripus, the flow and the ebb of the tide. The story referred to here is that Aristotle the man of all knowledge could not explain the cause of it and drowned himself in Euripus. The tradition is referred to by Strabo IX, Pliny II, 97, Cicero : *De Natura Deorum,* III and in Browne's *Vulgar Errors* VII, 13. The Euripus is now known as Negropont.

Unteach, Cause to unlearn. (The word is suggested by Horace's *dedoceo,* unteach or cause to unlearn.)

Confute himself, Disprove himself.

Peripatetics, followers of Aristotle, so called because Aristotle used to lecture as he walked up and down the *Lyceum,* a gymnasium just outside Athens.

Stoics, followers of Zeno.

Academics, Followers of Plato.

Janus, A Roman god with two heads, whose temples were built at the gates of a town, one head looking outside the town and the other inside, thus guarding the city in and out. (*Like Janus* means " facing both ways ").

Like . . . . knowledge, Like Janus prepared to look or answer in any direction, both " Yes " and " No ".

P. 121. *Solomon . . . . ignorance,* See *Ecclesiastes* VII, 29. Cf. also *Proverbs* I—IX.

Attending a little longer, Waiting a little longer.

SECT. IX

I was never yet . . . . marry twice, This sentence may be quoted as an example of the unintelligibility created by the excessive pithiness and brevity of Browne's style. The fact is that two different thoughts are unnecessarily compressed in one and the same sentence. Browne means (1) he has not been yet married even once [which is true because he married *after* the composition of *Religio*

Medici, though he was married before its publication.] and (2) he liked those people who would not marry twice (by this meaning, marrying a second wife or husband after the death of the first, and not two wives at the same time. Browne uses the word "Polygamy" immediately below in the same sense i.e. marrying more than one wife after the death of the preceding one).

But the twelfth part etc., It is fortunate that Browne does not deduce the conclusion that a man should have the power to marry twelve times as much as a woman. A reference to the old Jewish patriarchs in *Genesis* would show that those wonderful fellows married several times. Methuselah who lived for 969 years must have been a "much married" man. The ladies don't seem to have lived so long, and generally seem to have married but once!

Procreate like trees, The idea occurs in Montague's *Essays* III, 5.

Trivial and vulgar way, The common way of union of the sexes.

It is the foolishest act etc., Browne expresses the views of traditional Christianity. "Celibacy" was considered the more holy state and all sex-life was condemned from the point of view of ascetic Christianity, because of Eve's temptation of Adam to disobey God, which caused them both to lose Paradise. At the same time Browne admits he has no prejudice against the fair sex, and he proclaims himself a lover of the beautiful and of music.

P. 122. *Affect all harmony*, Have a liking for all harmony.

Music, in the beauty, If there is beauty in music, there is also music in beauty, the soul of harmony being a common factor in both.

The silent .... strikes, Cupid is of course the god of Love, being the son of Venus. Therefore having said that there is Music in Beauty, he says now that there is Music in Love.

The music of the spheres, Constantly referred to in Poetry, this is an idea of Platonic philosophy. Cf. Shakespeare's Moonlight Scene at the end of *The Merchant of Venice*: "There's not an orb which thou beholdest but in its motion like a cherub sings."

Well-ordered motions etc., Cf. *Psalms* XIX, 1-4 and Addison's poem: "The spacious firmament on high etc."

Even that ... tavern-music, De Quincey in *The Confessions of an English Opium-Eater* singles out this passage for praise, along

with the opening scene of *Tempest*, as the "one thing said adequately on the subject of music in all literature." De Quincey says that Browne here points to the true theory of musical effects."

First composer, God.

There is .... discovers, The thought can be best expressed by an adaptation of Keats's famous verse: "Heard melodies are sweet, but those unheard are sweeter." The heard melody of the music excites or suggests in the mind some spiritual, unheard, inarticulated melody.

Hieroglyphical, Symbolical.

Shadowed (lesson), Typical (lesson).

The whole .... understanding, Such a melody as would be given to the intellect by the whole world when fully understood.

P. 123. *Sensible fit of that harmony*, Audible strain of that music.

I will not say with Plato, Cf. Timaeus, Chap. 28.

Tacitus .... story, Tacitus in the first line of his *Annales*, which opens with the sentence: "Urbem Romam in principio reges habuere." The sentence can be scanned as a hexameter verse. Browne suggests that it is the tremendous influence of Rhythm upon man that makes a prose historian fall unconsciously into verse. Tacitus was a powerful historian who wrote the history of the imperial period of Roman history from Augustus to his own times in a prose style of remarkable power and brilliancy and sarcastic humour. Besides two small books, *Agricola* (a biography of his father-in-law, who was Roman governor of Great Britain in the reign of the emperor Claudius and *Germania*, a brief sociological account of the German tribes, he wrote two historical series, (1) the *Historiae* and (2) the *Annales*, the latter of which shows his style at its best. He was a contemporary of the Younger Pliny, about 100 A. D. In the text, the word "story" is used in the sense of "history."

The worst of poets, Cicero's bad poetry has been referred to by Browne, in Part I, Sect. XXIV, p. 48.

Declaiming for a poet, In his defence of the Greek poet Archias. See Cicero's *Pro Archia poeta*. The second clause of the first sen-

tence in *Pro Archia*, closing with the rhythmic concession regarding Oratory ends with the sentence : " in qua me non infitior mediocriter esse versatum ", and it is pointed out that the sentence from " in qua " upto " esse " inclusive, forms a hexameter verse.

Sordid and unchristian etc., Such as were assigned to the medical faculty by Seneca in his *De Benefic.* VI, 38, " medicis gravis annus in quaestu est." i.e. " to doctors a year of calamities is for a profit ". If doctors make profits in a year of epidemics, they sometimes die also !

Revolve .... eclipses, Ponder over almanacs and calendars showing the movements of the planets to find out bad aspects of the stars that will bring down disease, and give profit to the doctor. The man of medicine in Chaucer's day likewise combined his medicine with astrology, and so it seems to have continued till Browne's day. " Aspects " are the mutual angles two planets make at any time with reference to each other. An angle of 120° between them is a good aspect, one of 90° or 180° was bad. " Conjunctions " took place when two planets came to the same sign of the Zodiac, very close to each other, as for instance the Sun and Moon are in conjunction on New Moon day, which was generally considered inauspicious. Most " conjunctions " were supposed to be bad, except those of Jupiter, and those between the Moon, Venus and Mercury.

P. 124. *I apprehend as mine own*, I conceive as my own.

Three noble professions, The clergy, law and medicine.

Physic, Medicine.

Cases indissolvable, Knotty points in law not yet solved.

Vices incorrigible etc., Vices that theology has not been able to correct.

If general councils err, For instance, it often happened, that many general councils of the Christian clergy were held from time to time at different places (in the early history of the Church in Asia Minor and Northern Africa) to set aside resolutions adopted at a former Council and adopt new and contrary ones ! Eight such councils were held about Arianism, and at some of them the creed of Arius was adopted and at others rejected. Arias was against the divinity of Christ.

As Aristotle oft-times, As Aristotle oftentimes *condemned* the views of Plato and other predecessors.

Sin against the Holy Ghost, See *Matthew,* XII, 31, *Mark,* III 29 and *Luke,* XII, 10.

Sooner than divinity; pride, Sooner than Divinity (Theology) *can cure* pride.

Catholicon, Panacea ; universal remedy for all diseases.

But this i.e. except death.

Yet....immortality, Death is a pleasant nectar to those prepared for it and the quaffing of it opens the gates of immortality.

SECT. X

P. 125. *Like the sun's,* The sun shines equally well upon those who are good and those who are wicked. So does Browne's conversation.

Magnae virtutes, nec minora etc. Great are the virtues and not less the faults. (The sentence seems an echo of Livy's description of the character of Hannibal, XXI, 4, where he tells "These great virtues of the man were balanced by huge faults.")

Posy, A motto on a ring.

Posy ... natures, It is the characteristic of the best natures.

May be inverted etc., The motto may be applied in inverted terms to men of the worst nature.

Antiperistasis, Figure in rhetoric, being a figure of Contrast, heightening the effect of a statement by contrast. One quality is contrasted with another to deepen its significance. Here "by antiperistasis" means "by the principle of heightening by contrast."

Balsams .... corrosives, The best healing balms or elixirs are often found wrapped in an outer rind of deadly poisonous substances.

But it is ... without me, I am more afraid of the sin that lies within me than of any contagion from outside. ("Commerce" means "intercourse".)

Unruly regimen, My passions within, which are like an army of foes. (V. L. *regiment*).

It is ... myself, All infection that comes to me comes from myself.

The man ... me, The old Adam is still alive and strong in me [i.e. the sin of Adam is still strong in me]. As Adam was not born of Woman, and therefore not attached by a navel cord to his mother at the moment of birth, like human offspring, he is called a "man without a navel". If he had no navel cord, there was no reason for a navel.

Defenda me etc. (This is Italian, rather than Latin; Latin would be "defende me, Deus etc."). God, deliver me from myself.

P. 126. *Litany,* Prayer.

Nunquam minus etc., Never less alone than when alone. A man is never less alone than when he is alone. There is no real solitude. (*Latin* from Cicero: *De Officiis,* III.)

Apophthegm, A sententious saying; an aphorism.

Consorts with, Keeps company with. *Consorts...solitude,* Cf. the proverb "an idle man is the devil's workshop."

The concourse (of God), The concurrence (of God).

SECT. XI

For...hospital, Omar Khayyam gave to the world the image of a "caravanserai".

P. 127. *I am above ... shoulders,* On the shoulders of the giant Atlas, the weight of the globe was supposed to be poised.
Browne considers himself to be in himself a world, morally and spiritually great, not inferior to the world that is supported on Atlas's shoulders.

Not only in respect of, Not only when compared with.

Of that ... within us, Compared with our soul, which is spiritual and heavenly.

That surface that, That surface which.

I take my circle, etc., I am greater in expanse and circumference than the whole globe, which measures 360 degrees at its centre.

Though the number ... mind. Though the limits of my body are measured by the circumference, that does not apply to my

mind. (Here *ark* is the arc of a circle, but is used for the circumference).

Nature tells ... Scripture, See *Genesis* I, 27, "God created man in His own image etc." This is what Scripture tells Browne : but Nature also conveys to him the same assurance.

Begin ... alphabet of man, Has yet to learn the earliest rudiments in the study of man.

Ruat coelum, fiat voluntas tua, (Latin) Let the heavens fall, but let Thy (i.e. God's) will be done. This is an adaptation to religion of the Latin proverb : "Ruat coelum, fiat justitia" i.e. "Let the heavens fall, but let justice be done". There is really no difference between the original proverb and the adaptation, since God's Will amounts to justice.

Salveth all, (Cf. Part I, Sect. XXXV, p. 65, "all is salved") Explains everything ; solves all doubt. [The word "salveth" would originally mean "saveth or saves", but Browne uses it generally in the sense of "explain" as at page 65].

P. 128. *In a fancy,* In imagination.

There is surely ... dreams, In brief, the idealist in Browne tells us here that dreams are better than the real world. In dreams we can appreciate a more exquisite joy than any in the real world.

I am ... friend, I am *away* from the dream, which is my real friend.

I am .... his arms i.e. I am clasped within the embraces of my "friend", viz., the dream.

Fit of happiness, paroxysm of happiness ; short interval of great happiness.

We are all asleep ... day, That the being alive in this world is but as a dream compared to the reality of the next world, just as phantom forms seen in the night fade away in the day-light.

Ligation etc., Sleep is like the binding down (=ligation) of the physical senses, but a liberation of the intellect.

My ascendant ... Scorpio, The zodiacal sign of the Scorpion (which astrologers consider a watery sign, as opposed to *Aries* and *Leo* which are fiery) was rising on the eastern horizon at the time of my birth. "Scorpio" is a sign that gives omens of

war and calamity, the sun when in Scorpio bringing on tempests and disease. The alchemists held that iron could not be turned into gold, except when the sun was in Scorpio.

I was born. . .Saturn, I was born at an hour when the influence of the planet Saturn prevailed. Saturn was supposed to be of a dull, white colour, like lead and was called the "leaden" planet. (Hence *Saturnine* means "dull and silent.")

Galliardize, Merriment ; mirth. A *French* word : Dr. Johnson quoted this in his Dictionary, as being the solitary use of the word in English literature.)

P. 129. *A singular tract etc.,* This is one of the appendices added to Aristotle's treatise "On the Soul."

Noctambuloes, Somnambulists, or night-walkers, like Lady Macbeth in Shakespeare's tragedy, after the murder of Duncan.

Morpheus, The god of sleep in ancient mythology.

Abstracted and ecstatic souls, That is souls removed from the "ligaments" or "bindings" of the body.

In their own corpses, In their own bodies.

SECT. XII

P. 130. *We term sleep a death,* In the Bible, the euphemism "slept" is often employed for "died". Homer has associated sleep with death, Cf. : Pope's Translation of Homer's *Iliad* XVI, 831, "sleep and death, two twins of winged race" and Shakespeare, Macbeth II, 2, 39 :—"sleep ... the death of each day's life."

That are the house of life, In which life consists.

Themistocles that slew etc., Themistocles was a great Athenian general, the victor of Salamis, 480 B.C., but in the end he turned traitor when exiled and joined the Persians, the enemies of Greece. But the story here referred to is not true of Themistocles, but probably of Iphicrates, another Athenian general. The latter slew a sentinel whom he found asleep while on duty, and said, "I found him asleep and I have left him so".

It is a kind . . . invented, It is a mild kind of punishment, but no system of law has yet devised it.

Fancy of Lucan and Seneca, The imagination of the poet Lucan and the philosopher Seneca did not hit on this mild kind of death, though the emperor Nero ordered them to commit suicide and left the *manner* of it to their own choice. Many of the victims of the tyranny of Nero and Domitian committed suicide, either by starving themselves to death or by bleeding to death by opening one of the arteries.

A death which Adam etc., For as often as he slept, Adam may be said to have undergone this kind of death, even when he had not disobeyed God and thereby got the punishment of Death.

Such as Jacob's etc., Except such happy dreams as Jacob experienced.

P. 131. *This is the dormitive,* This (i.e. this prayer) is the sleeping potion that I take before going to bed.

Sleep . . . resurrection, Sleep till I rise again.

SECT. XIII

Distributive justice etc., Distributive justice implies a mental equilibrium in the award or distribution of money, honour, favour, or punishment etc. *equally* to persons of the same class; while "commutative" justice implies an equality in exchange: the latter would ordinarily involve an arithmetical calculation.

Supererogative, Do more than is required.

That common principle, Viz. do unto others as thou wouldst be done unto thyself. See *Luke* VI, 31.

P. 132. *So many . . . Hellebore,* Complete madness. "Hellebore" was a common remedy for insanity from the earliest times to the days of Browne.

Opinions of theory, Theoretical speculations.

Positions of men, Assertions of men.

Practised conclusions, Practical decisions, (as opposed to "logical inference" or "theory" and also to "positions" of men i.e. mere assertions or statements: so we have here the three categories of Thought, Word, and Action. The last is more inconsistent and irrational than the other two).

That the earth moves, Browne continued to believe in the Ptolemaic view that the sun moved round the earth and dis-

believed the Copernican view that the earth moves round the sun!

No delirium, No madness.

Speculate . . . avarice, If we merely theorize on the folly and undoubted madness of avarice. [Following the text of Wilkin, we put a full stop after "avarice."]

Subterraneous idol, The under-ground god of gold.

Whatsoever virtue its prepared substance, etc., Browne is here referring to the value of gold in medicine. Some of these medical preparations of gold are discussed by Browne, in his *Vulgar Errors* II, 5, 3. The "aurum potabile" or "potable gold" was considered a remedy against all disease. In the Hindu System of Medicine too, gold held high place, but scarcely for the low-placed patient!

For the Indies, For the wealth of both the Indies.

Aristotle . . . severe, Browne understands Aristotle to have said that only a rich man can be liberal. But there is some error in this. In his *Nicomachean Ethics* IV, 1, 19 Aristotle clearly says that liberality does not depend on the magnitude of the gift, but on the disposition of the giver, but he also rightly said that a poor man cannot afford to be *munificent*. Browne may also refer to Aristotle's *Rhetoric* I, 5, 6.

The example of the mite, See *Luke* XXI, 1-4, where Christ says that the poor widow's mite is greater than the rich man's gifts in abundance.

P. 133. *I have not Peru etc.*, I don't desire for the gold or silver mines of Peru, but only enough for a comfortable life.

He that giveth . . . Lord, The reference is to *Proverbs* XIX, 17, "He that hath pity upon the poor lendeth to the Lord."

Honest by epitome, Honest or virtuous by a short cut.

Scenical . . . differences, Mere outward differences.

Common and untouched part, The soul which is common to both but which is not reached or affected.

Centos, Patched garments (of beggars etc.).

Whose genealogy . . . ours, Who can trace their descent from God, as well as we.

Statists, Statesmen; politicians.

Not understanding only, A loose expression for "not only not understanding."

P. 134. *The prophecy of Christ*, Viz.: in *Matthew* XXVI, 11 "The poor ye shall always have with you", and *Mark* XIV, 7 and *John* XII, 8 where the same thought is repeated.

SECT. XIV

The traduction... Spirit, The propagation or transmission of His Spirit.

Call to assize, (*Assize* is a court of law) Try by strict rule of law.

In that that, In that which (i.e. in that of our wife, who will bear our children).

P. 135. *Desire our ends*, Wish us to be dead.

Thus... issue, In this way a man falls into oblivion, which is a living death, and the short memory of his children is his own grave.

SECT. XV

As Copernicus ... sun, Because Copernicus holds that the sun is the centre of the world. Browne has already expressed his dissent from Copernicus in a preceding section. But in spite of Bacon and Browne (both of whom disbelieved in him), the Copernican theory is very much alive.

Nor any crambe... verity, Nor any tedious repetition in that oft-asserted truth. It cannot be too often repeated.

Crambe, or "Crambo" was a rhyming game in which the competitor who repeated the same rhyme had to pay a forfeit.

Repeated verity, viz.: "All is vanity and vexation of the spirit", Solomon's words in *Ecclesiastes* II, 26. The first chapter of *Ecclesiastes* begins with "Vanity of vanities,... .all is vanity."

In that the world adores, In that *which* the world adores, such as wealth, house, gardens, servants etc.

Aristotle while he labours etc., See Aristotle's *Ethics-Eudem.* I, 18, and *Ethics-Nicom.* I, and *Metaphysics*, I, 7.

Idea of Plato, Plato's theory of Ideas.

Summum bonum, The "highest good" that a man should seek after. See Aristotle: *Ethics Eudem.* I & II and *De Moribus* I, 7, 8.

Chimaera, A wild fancy. (In Greek Myth, the chimera was a fictitious monster, with a mixture of a lion, goat and serpent in it).

Felicity, which is the *summum bonum*, according to Aristotle.

In whose defect, In the absence of which.

A story out of Pliny, i.e. out of the elder Pliny, the writer of a *Natural History*, containing mistakes, and therefore used here in the sense of "fabulous."

A tale of Boccaccio or Malaspini, (These words are omitted in Wilkin's text.) Boccaccio wrote amusing stories in Italian called the *Decameron*, about one hundred in number. Malaspini or Malizspini, born about 1540, wrote stories, called "Ducento Novelle", two hundred in number.

Neat delusion, Pure delusion.

Happy ... Caesar, More happy than a king; a man compared to whose happiness, a king's would be pitiable.

THE END.

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